

Albeit the Galathiās are Greciās, yet are they originally descēded of Frenchemen, & (as s. Hierome sayth) in dulnes of witte resemble thē. This thing also Hillary, who was himself a Frenchmā borne, in his hymnes testifyeth, in the same callyng his countreyemen dullardes. Sainte Paule also in this present Epistle reproving thē calleth them A|noetous, that is to say, witlesse or foolish: to whose capacitie temperyng his matter, he more vehē|mently and sharpely reproueth, then in other of his Epistles he doeth o|ther, rather checkyng then teachyng them, to thentent that such, as could not with reason be brought to a better mynde, might yet at lestwyse with authoritie be called home againe and amended. In this Epistle laboreth Paule about that matter, whiche he els where in euery place doeth: to cal men (I say) from the bondage of Moses lawe to the grace of the gossell, whiche matter in his epistle to y^r Romaines he also entreateth of, because both people were in like error, but yet after a sondry sorte fallenther|vnto. For the Romaines were fyrst brought to Iewishenes, & afterward amended: but the Galathians contrarye beyng by the Apostle fyrst well taught, were through the sleightie desceiptes of false apostles brought backe againe to Iewishe religion. In the Romaines, simplenes it was, that they were through misteachyng begiled, but of wysedome and dis|crecion it came, that after warnyng they sone amended: on the other side, wheras the Galathians sone receiued and fauored Christes doctrin, that was a point of easines: but straight after to fal againe from it, and to belcome Iewes was euen lightnes and folishnes. To them there came false apostles takyng vpon them as though they had been sent from the chief Apostles Peter and Iames, whiche labored to abate Paules authoritie, teachyng them, that to him there should no credence be geuen, as whiche was inconstant, sometymes obseruyng the ceremonies of the lawe, as it appeared, by that he made a vowe, shauyng his head, & caused Timothe to be circumcised: and sometymes with the Gentiles reprouyng and con|demnyng the lawe, bearyng them in hand also, that suche rather ought to be beleued, as had with Peter and Iames been conuersaunt and other, whiche had seen Christ in his manhod, whereas Paule had neither seen Christ, nor was, but a disciple of suche as were disciples, and not the mes|senger of Christ. Paule therfore vehemently and sharpely, (for none ep|istle is there more sharpe) with a holsome earnestnes and fauorable sharp|nes bothe cureth the Galathians error, and also defendeth his owne authoritie, openyng the false apostles disceiptes, at the beginnyng of the epistle, makyng him selfe equal euen with the chiefe apostles, yea, and in

this point aboue them, because he was at that tyme by Christ put in au|thoritie

to preache, after that he was become immortall, and vpon boldnes of this authoritie, for a certain tyme both in Arabia and Damasco preached Christ, before that he had talked with any of the Apostles, after whiche enterprise he graunteth, that he sawe in deede at Ierusalem for a fewe dayes Peter & Iames, of whom yet he was nothyng holpen, after whiche tyme he sayeth he preached. xiiii. yeres in Syria and Cilicia, vntyll suche tyme as he was by God commaunded to returne vnto Ierusalem with Barnabas and Titus, wher Paule compared and examined his gospel with suche as wer Christes Apostles: not because that he then beganne to doubt of his so many yeres preachyng, but to the intent that by theyr approbacion and allowaunce, whose authorities were chiefe among all men, other might the more be confirmed: at whiche tyme he so compared with Peter, that of him he learned nothyng as touchyng the gospell, and was not onely by Peter not compelled to charge the Gentyles with the burden of the lawe, but what tyme Peter at Antioche eate in company of the gentiles suche meates as wer by the lawe forbidden, & after for feare of the Iewes that came withdrewe him selfe from that cōpany, he checked him euen to his face, declaryng that through fayth men obtaine the grace of God offred by the gospel, & not by kepyng of the law whiche was at that tyme abolished. And though he begunne this disputation, as it were with Peter, yet persueth he the same more at large turnyng his matter to the Galathians, instructyng them and declaryng, that Moses lawe was geuen but for a tyme, and that al thynges taught therein appertained and directed to Christ onely: that in the lawe was but fleshe, in the gospel was the spirite, in the lawe there were shadowes, in the gospel light, in the lawe images, in the gospel the truth, finally in the lawe bondage, in the gospel libertie: and that it was in the Galathians extreme folishnes after they had tasted of better thynges, to fal to worse. Whiche pointes saint Paule entreateth of in y^e fyrst, the second, the third and fourth chapter, then after that he hath very earnestly warned them that by receiuyng circumsicion they should not shamefully cast them selues into the bondage of the lawe, he teacheth, that christian libertie is not a libertie to do what a manne lust synnefully, but a willyng and a ioyfull mynde to do well euen for loue, and not because the lawe so cōmaundeth. Finally he exhorteth the Galathians to christian concorde, to helpe suche as are weake or fallen, and to do for suche as haue taught vs christian fayth, and that suche workes, because they be workes of the spirite, are with euerlasting glory rewarded, whereas temporal ceremonies deserue but glory temporal, incidently bringyng the false Apostles into displeasure and hatred, as whiche for nothyng els labored to haue the Galathians circumcised, but because they might therof glorye, as bryngers to passe of suche an high arte. Lyke diseases haue suche now a daies, whiche fynde out newe & straunge kindes of religions, that it may be sayd, suche a kynde of men made he.

All this epistle Paule as it semeth, wrote with his owne hand, to shewe how tenderly he loued the Galathians, whereas in other epistles his maner is

nomore but to subscribe: The latine argumētes shew that it was written from the cytie of Ephesus, but the greke titles reade that it was sent from Rome.

Page [unnumbered]

The paraphrase vpon the epistle of the Apostle saint Paule to the Galathians, by Des. Erasmus of Roterodame.

The fyrst Chapter.

The texte.

Paule an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Iesus Christ, and by God the father, whiche raised him vp from death: and all the brethren, whiche are with me.

PAule an Apostle, and an Apostle of no meane sorte, (whiche I say), lest either some dispise me, as one of lesse reputacion, or with the power & authoritie of other Apostles abate and suppress myne. For neither was I of any man putte in this commission and office as other some haue been, whiche either beyng but disciples & vnderlynges, to the Apostles auauance them selues, as thoughe they were of the highest sorte, or els by vnlawfull meanes procuryng mens fauor, violently breake* into the office of an Apostle. Nor was putte in authoritie to preache the gospel by any excellent person, but by Iesus Christ him selfe the sonne of God, who not with any mannes eleccion or consent had, commaunded me to be the preacher of the gospel, but by his owne mouth, what tyme he was becomen immortal, euen from heauen called me foorth to do this busynes, vndoubtedly by the decrees and authoritie of God the father, who raised his sonne Iesus from death. For he is not therfore to be sup|posed dead, because he is of vs no lenger seen. But rather if suche be worthyly taken for high Apostles, whom Christ appointed beyng as yet among mortal men mortal, then surely should I not be coumpted theyr inferior, whom he at that tyme from heauen, not as man, but euen God, called to be his Apostle and messenger.

For as I am in this point equal euen to the highest Apostles, in that I was of the same Iesus Christ institute, so this preeminence may I lawfully challenge, that Christ chose them, what tyme he was to our bo|dily infirmities subiect, but me called he a sonder to be his preacher, what tyme he had put of all condicions of mannes weakenes.

The texte.

Vnto the congregacion of Galacia: Grace be with you and peace from God the father, and from our lorde Iesus Christ, whiche gaue him selfe for our synnes, to deliuer vs from this present euil worlde, accordyng to the will of God our father, to whom be praise for euer and euer. Amen.

Paule therfore euen I an Apostle, and suche an Apostle write this Elpistle to as many of you as through the whole countrey of Galacia con|sent and agre in Christes doctrine: and lest one mans authoritie be of to smale weight, not onely I, but also as many as are here, (of whom there is a great numbre) whiche with me professe the name of Christ, which for|sakyng Moses lawe embrace the fayth & doctrin of the gospel, fyrst wishe you grace, and than peace and concorde: grace that vpon fre deliuerance from your old lynnes, ye may hereafter liue an innocent and a pure life:

Page iii

concord, that ye neither dissent frō other congregacions, nor yet frō your selues: whiche both giftes we muste looke to receiue, neither of Moses nor of any other mortal man, but of God the father, from whō as from a welspring al our welth cōmeth, & of his sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, by whō it pleased God to geue vs all thinges, whō we must both thanke for all the miseries that we haue escaped, & also for al the goodnes, that we haue obtained vnto. For Moses circumcision made no man innocent, but Christ of his owne fre goodnes offred him self to death, because he would for our synnes make amendes, purposyng through the grace of the gos|pel to supply that, which Moses law was not able to do, that we through his onely benefite beyng deliuered from synne, & synfull myndes, where|vnto the world is bound, may neither be slauishely vnder vnclennes, nor mans ceremonies: For so hath it pleased God, & our father, by whom belyng fyrst made, when after through our foly we fell againe into the bon|dage of synne, we were restored againe, like men newe borne, of yearthly becomen heauenly, and of carnall made spiritual. To him therefore, of whom al our goodnes floweth, honor, and glory be geuen, not transitory as Moses lawe had, but suche as shal neuer haue an ende.

Amen.

The texte.

I meruaile that ye are so sone turned frō Christ, whiche called you by grace, vnto another gospel: whiche is nothing els, but that there be some, whiche

trouble you, and intende to peruert the Gospel of Christ.

Wheras I lately preached this vnto you, & synce that ye once receiued the same, I maruaile not a litle, what hath chaūced, that ye are fallen frō so good a father, & so sone fallen frō him, which frely forgeuyng al your trespaces, hath called & prouoked you to euerlastyng saluacion, not for^{*} your kepyng of the lawe, but through the grace & bounteous mercy and benefite of Iesus Christ, & that ye are sodenly fallen againe into the bon|dage of Moses lawe, as it were into an other gospel, when in dede beside that whiche we preached vnto you, there is no other gospel at all.

Whence is this so great vnstabilenes, frō whence is this lightnes, to chaunge suche fredome as is freely geuen vnto you, with suche wylfull bondage? As for your wittes I reprove not, but thinke this fault rather to be layd to certain false Apostles, whiche beyng rather the preachers of Moses, than of Christ, abuse your rudenes, and trouble you with the titlles of high Apostles, manacyng & threatenynge you, as though it so stode with you, that ye could without circumcision not attaine vnto saluacion, in so doynge, not onely laborynge to renue the ceremonies of the olde lawe, whō it were meete, were now abrogate and abolished, but vnder this col|our also vtterly peruertynge the gospel of Christ. For synce that the same gospel through fayth & godly life, assureth al men, that embrace it, of per|fite weale and saluacion, well may it be coumpted a vayne & a deceitful doctrine, if (as they teache) no man haue entrey to euerlastyng welth, vn|lesse he be circumcised, as the custome of Moses lawe requireth. God defende, that any mannes authoritie should remoue you frō the purenes and sinceritie of the gospel.

The texte.

Neuertheles, though we our selues, or an Angel frō heauē, preache any other gospel vnto you, then that whiche we haue preached vnto you, let him be acursed. As we sayd before, so saye I nowe againe, if any man preache any other gossell, then that ye haue receiued, let him be accursed.

Page [unnumbered]

Rather be so farre frō beyng moued through the names of Peter, Ialmes, & Ihon, be y[•] same neuer so great, whiche names men abuse to bring you vnder the burdaine of the lawe, that if euen an angel sent frō heauen preache vnto you any gospel other then that we preached, let the same of you not onely not be heard, but be also taken as one to be abhorred and accursed. And lest any thynke that these my wordes are spoken either of hastynes, or of vnpacience, I reherse thē again & again, that whosoever, whether he be an angel, or an Apostle of high name, preache vnto you

o|therwyse, then ye haue learned of vs before, accursed (I saye) be he &
ab|hominable.

The texte.

Do I now persuade men or God? Either go I aboute to please menne? For if I
had hitherto studied to please men, I were not the seruaunt of Christ.

For as often as men are in hand w^t the right line of Christes fayth, nei|ther
mans authoritie, no nor angels ought to preuail or take place. Who so
preacheth Christes gospel, laboreth in no mans busynes, but in Gods.*
And if this be so, why should I feare any mans authoritie? I was by no
man but by God put in trust to preache y^e gospel. In whiche office I pray
you, whether should I in suche wyse hādle my selfe to please men, or
God, whō onely I acknowledge for my author and maister? The lewes
vpon a worldly zeale labor to set furth among al men theyr rites &
ceremonies, to thentent that they may vnder this coloure be the more
made of, as the nature of men would haue euer suche waies seme best,
wherin them selves were brought vp. Wherefore some sekynge to haue the
lewes fauor, labor to bryng men in minde to be circumcised, & preache of
kepyng the sabboth day, w^t obseruyng a difference in meates, as though
when they so reache, they taught men a high & a singular point. But God
forbid, y^t I should so farfoorth labor to please the lewes beyng rather
carnal then spiritual that I should suffre w^t any lewishe ceremonies y^e
puritie of the gospel to be corrupted. When I in tyme past was geuen to
Iewishenes, I pleased my countrey men, by all wayes I could, persewyng
them, that professed the name of Christ. But whiles I went about to please
men, I displeased God; who would haue Moses abolished, & the glory of
his sonne Christ to be set foorth. As long as I was bonde to the lawe, al
myne entent and* endeuoure was to kepe Moses rules, & for that sought I
praise at mens handes: but now hath God called me an other way, whose
onely praise I desyre, and loke for. If I should hence foorth styl loke for
the same praise of menne, certainly I were not Christes seruaunt. For
how can any man thinke me his seruaūt, if I more apply my selfe to winne
the fauor of men thā to do his cōmaudemētes, if I more feare to
displease y^e lewes, than God the father of Christ, and author of y^e gospel?
I was neuer slauishely bonde to the ceremonies of Moses lawe, whō I well
wyst were through the light of Christes gospel quite abolished, after
suche tyme as I had once wholly geuen my selfe to Christ. For albeit once
or twyse for appea|syng of a commocion whiche might elswyse haue
been, beyng among the lewes, I obserued certain of theyr customes, yet
neuer thought I in thē any hope of saluacion, but for a tyme applied my
selfe to the myndes of my countrey men, that I might therby bryng more
vnto Christ.

But synce I perceyue, that this submyssion of myne is by them wrest in|to a wrong meanyng, so that nowe the matier is gone so ferre, that they stycke not to charge with y^e burden of the lawe, as a thing necessarie, euen them, whom the gospell founde free from that burden, I thynke it hyghe tyme freely and playnly to speake agayne Moses rites, and openly to de|teste all that maketh to the derogacion of Christes glorie. And from so doyng shall there none Apostles authoritie feare me, be he neuer so no|table, assuryng my selfe wholye of Christe, whose wyll and commaunde|ment I folowe through thycke and thyn in all ieopardye.

The texte.

I certifie you brethren, that the gospell whiche was preached of me, was not after the maner of men. For I neither receiued it, nor learned it of man, but by the reuel ac•on of Iesus Christe.

But because ye shall the better vnderstande, that I not without consi|deracion fell from Moses lawe, and nowe with suche boldnes preache the libertie of the gospell, loo you to wil (brethren,) that the gospell, whiche I taught you, is no suche worldly ordinaunce as maye for any mannes pleasure be altered, as that maye be, whiche is made by man. Suche as to you preache circumcision, let them for theyr parte take hede, whence they learned theyr gospell. Surely the ioyfull tydynges, which I taught you, neither receyued, nor learned I of man, by meane whero• I myght be cou|pelled, either to leane to his authoritie, or to folow other mennes interpre|tacions.* Christe hymself vouchesaue to shewe, vnto me the misterie of the newe lawe and the abolyshment of the olde, because no man shall thynke, that I was without consideracion and rashely chaunged, or els receyued the gospell, whiche I preache, of no person of graue authoritie. Christe is in suche sorte man, that yet he is no mortall man, nor yet vnder suche deli|tes, as all men els are. Christe is also in suche condicion man, that he ther|with is also God, by whose secrete power, and spirite I was sodenly chaū|ged into a new man, being elswyse more stubberly gyuen to Moses law, taught vnto me by myne elders to be had in reuerence and honoure, than was lyke by any worldly perswasion to be plucked out of my heade, had not the holye ghost enspired myne hearte.

The texte.

For ye haue heard of my conuersacion in tyme paste, in the lewes waye, how that beyond measure, I persecuted the congregacion of god, and spoyled it, and preuayled in the lewes waye, aboute many of my companions

in myne owne nacion, beyng a very seruent maintainer of the tradicions of the elders.

Of this my tale I thynke you not ignoraunt, who of lykelyhod by re|port knowe, after what sorte I vsed my selfe vnder the Iewes lawe, for loue borne therto so greatly abhorryng the gospell of Christ, whose secret knowledge I had not yet receyued, that by all the meanes I could. I per|secuted the new congregacion, which at that tyme by the spirite of god belgan to be gathered to the doctrine of the gospell, and with the moste tyrā|nie I could, destroyed them, thinking in the meane season, that I dyd a noble acte & suche an acte as hyghlye pleased god, whyles in dede lyke a foole ignorauntly I fought agaynst god.

Page [unnumbered]

And surely the matier went well forward: for in my Iewyshe profession, whome onely at that tyme I thought good and godly, among my com|panions I got the prayse, that I passed well nyghe all that werre of my companions, for that rekened more holy and religiouse, because I more styfly cleaued vnto my forefathers lawes: in so doying being deceaued for lacke of ryght iudgemēt and knowledge, and not for lacke of a good intēt & purpose, & for a zeale borne to the law resisting the maker therof. Which blyndnes it pleased god by his secrete counsel to suffer for a tyme, to then|tent that I beyng sodenly chaunged from so great a bolsterer of the lawe into a preacher of the gospel, myght by myne example drawe and prouoke many to Christe.

The texte.

But when it pleased god, which seperated me from my mothers wombe, and called me hereunto by his grace, for to declare his sōne by me, that I should preache hym amōg the Heathen: immediatly I communed not of the matier with fleshe and bloud, neither returned I to Ierusalem to them whiche were apostles before me: but went my wayes into Arabia, and came agayne vnto Damasco.

Wherefore as sone as it pleased God, whiche long before that, euen frō my mothers wombe, had purposed and chosen me out for his busines, vpō me to declare and notifie his pleasure, and whereas I no suche thyng de|serued, of his owne free goodnes to call me to this office, that by me, as by an instrument, the glorie of his sōne Iesus myght be knownen, whome as yet but verie fewe of the Iewes knewe, and of the Gentiles almoste none, among whō specially he would haue me to be preacher, what thinke ye, dyd I? Dyd I styll cleaue vnto my forefathers lawes? was I slacke to * set vpon the busynes, wherwith I was put in trust? mistrusted I

y^e worde of God? compared I my gospell with anye of the Apostles, that were my countreyemen? or went I to any man to aske his aduise? went I to Hieru|salem, to haue my gospell stablyshed by theyr authoritie, who, because belfore me they were called to the dignitie of apostleship, are highly esteemed? No I dyd not so. Nor thought I it conuenient, that it shoulde by mannes authoritie be confirmed, whiche was by Christes commaundement imme|diatly commuted vnto me. But furthwith as soone as I perceyued myne errour, and had receyued from heauen this commission, without any de|laye went I into Arabia, where I nothyng doubted to preache Christes name, beyng as yet to the wyld and harbarouse people either vnknownen or hated: with no lesse zeale preaching then he grace of the gospel, than I exste preached Moses lawe. And from Arabia retourned I to Damasco, where streyght frō my baptisme I had begun to professe Christes name.

The texte.

Then after thre yeares, I retourned to Ierusalem to se Peter and abode with hym xv. dayes. Other of the Apostles saw I none saue Iames the Lordes brother. The thin|ges therfore whiche I wryte to you: beholde before god, I lye not.

Thence after a thre yeares space came I to Hierusalem, rather to see Peter, than any thyng to compare wth hym. And with him abode I nomore but. xv. dayes, though he among the Apostles semed chiefe. As for other of the Apostles laboured I to see none, sauing Iames, whose surname is Iustus, who was for perfit holynes of lyfe called the Lordes brother: & he therfore became fyrste Byshoppe at Hierusalem.

Page v

So ferre as ye see, was I from mistrustyng my gospell, and sekyng for any mannes ayde and assistance. Nowe that I in all these thynges saye trewe, witnes is god hymselfe, at whose commaundemente I haue taken vpon me to preache the gospell.

The texte.

¶ After that came I vnto the coastes of Siria and Cicilia, & was vnknownen, as toul|chyng my person vnto the congregacions of Iewrye, whiche were in Christe. But this they hearde only that he whiche persecuted vs in tyme paste, nowe preacheth the fayth, whiche he before destroyed. And they glorified god in me.

These thynges done I went into the countreyes of Syria & Cilicia, in euery place there prechyng the name of Christe. For euen in these coun|treys a certayne noubmer of Iewes began to fauer Christes doctrine, but to them yet was I by syghte vnknownen, notwithstanding I was a Iewe borne, onelye this they knewe by reporte, that I was he, whiche by goddes wyll of a persecutor of the christian fayth, was sodenly become a preacher of the same fayth, so that the same I before to the vtterest of my power assaulted, nowe euen with ieopardy of my lyfe I defended. For whiche chaunge they two maner of wayes glorified god, one for that they were from suche greuouse persecuciō deliuered, and for that they had got|ten suche a defender of theyr profession.

The .ii. Chapiter.

The texte.

Then fourtene yeares thereafter, I went vp agayne to Hierusalem, with Barna|bas, and toke Titus with me. I went vp by reuelacion, and comuned with them, of the gospell, whiche I preache among the Gentiles, but specially with them, whiche were coumpted chief, leste I shoulde tunne or had runne in vayne.

B Vt after I had fourtene yeares preached the doc|trine of the gospell speacyally to the Gentiles, then went I agayne with Titus and Barnabas to Hie|rusalem, whome I minded to take with me, as wit|nes of that, whiche was done. And this dyd I, not nowe of humanitie, as I dyd before, but at goddes commaundement, to the intent the Iewes shoulde better knowe, when they should see so great a num|ber of Gentiles without circumcisiō called to euer|lastyng lyfe, aswell as they, that saluacion oughte to be loked for, not for circumcisions sake, but by fayth geuyng to the gospell. With them ther|fore* compared I my gospell, whiche I by Christes wyll hitherto preache among the Gentiles, and with them especially comuned I, whose au|thoritie was among the Iewes moste esteemed, least anye of them whiche styll beleued that Christes gospell should be myngled with Moses lawe, might saye, that either I in the course of the gospell had runne in vayne, or do styll now yet runne, in that through the gyfte of fayth without men|cion makynge of circumcision I had promysed them the same saluacion, that we whiche are circumcised puttyng our confidence in Christe, truste to haue and enioye.

The texte.

Also Titus whiche was with me, though he were a Greke, yet was not compelled •o be circumcised: and that because of incōmers beyng false brethren, which came in priuelly to spye ante our libertie whiche we haue in Christe Iesus, that they myght bryng vs into bondage. To whome we gaue no coume, no not for the tyme (as concernyng to be brought into subieccion) because the trueth of the gospell myght continewe with you.

And so ferre were we from charyng the Gentiles with the burden of cir|cumcision, that not somuche as Titus, when he was bothe at Hierusalē, and conuersaunt also among Iewes, that styfly defended circumcision, was by the chief apostles of the Iewes compelled to be circumcised, be|cause he was a Grecian and not a Iewe. And how muche lesse then should ye lo do there in Galacia by compulsion of any false apostle? Suche as almong the apostles were chiefe, required not of vs to haue a Grecian cir|cumcised, therin vndoubtedlye intendyng, that the bondage of the lawe shoulde by lytle and lytle weare quyte awaye, and the libertie of the gos|pell be establyshed. But into oure companye there crepte certayne false* christian men, whome I maye for good cause so call, because they exacte that, whiche Christe would, should weare out of vse. Trayterously and falsly came they within vs to espye oure lybertie gyuen vnto vs throughe the gospell of Christe, wherat they enuied, intendyng nothyng elles but through circumcision to bryng vs agayne backwarde into the bondage of the lawe. Of them was it more lykely, that we shoulde through theyr im|portune meanes, be compelled, leste by resistyng, some commocion might be stiered vp.

And yet not so muche as to them gaue we so ferfurthe place, no not for the tyme so satisfyng theyr myndes, by submitting oure selves, that Tiltus shoulde be circumcised, which thinge was by vs done for your sakes, leste that whiche was in Titus done of necessitie, ye without necessitie fol|lowyng the same myght fall from the trueth of the gospel, into a Iewyshe supersticion.

The texte.

Of them whiche semed to be somewhat (what they were in tyme passed it maketh no matier to me: god loketh on the outwarde apparence of no man) neuerthelesse they whiche semed great, added nothyng to me. But contrariwise, when they sawe that the gospell ouer the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the gospell ouer the circū|cision was committed vnto Peter (for he that was myghtie in Peter, in the apostleshyp ouer the circumcision, the same was mightie in me among the Gentiles) when they per|ceyued the grace, that was giuen vnto me, then Iames, Cephas, and Iohn, whiche selmed to be pillers, gaue to me and Barnabas the right hādes of that felowshyp, that we shoulde be apostles among the Heathen, and they in

the circumcision, onely y^e we should remember the poore. Wherin also I was diligent to do the same.

Now yf some of them, whose authoritie is chiefe, at any tyme either exlacted of any other circumcision, or elles permitted it, whither they therin well dyd or not, that lytle appertayneth vnto me, this is for me sufficient, that they haue forsaken theyr olde opinion, and are nowe of the same, that I am of. Howe soeuer the matier goe, it is among men a great mattier to be well esteemed, but with god are not regarded suche outwarde apparen|ces, but the very trouthe. Be it so y^e their authoritie is greater, than myne, yet as touchyng the pure preaching of the gospell, they so lytle furthered me, that they had rather by me therin some encrease and furtheraunce.

For after y^e vpon declaracion and tryal had of my preachyng vnto them, they perceyued, that Christe had aswell put me in truste with preaching of his gospel among the Gentiles, as he had done Peter among the Iewles, and when they sawe also that my preachyng without circumcision was no lesse effectual, than Peters was, with circumcision ioyned with his, and vpon oure reporte they vnderstode that god had gyuen vs with thē equall grace of the gospell, so ferre were Peter, Iames, and Iohn who almonge them were thought principall pillars, from reprouyng my prealchyng, that with me and Barnabas gyuyng vs theyr ryght handes, they made alegue of felowshippe, that we shoulde with one consent and mynde preache one gospel, euery man in his portion: we among the Gentiles, and they among the Iewes. Nor gaue they vs any iniunction, to call anye of the Gentiles to circumcision. Onely this desyred they of vs, that what tyme we among the Gentiles preached the gospell, we woulde remember the poore people, whiche were at Hierusalem, that they thereby myght by some of them be relieued. In whiche poynte, forasmuche as it well agreed with the doctrine of the gospel, we diligently obeyed that theyr commaū|dement, as we would not haue done, had they gyuen vs in commaunde|ment to circumcise the Gentiles. For an vnmete thyng is it, that with vs any mannes authoritie shoulde so take place, that for fauer borne vnto hym we shoulde not after a ryght trade see vnto the ghospel. For as at the begynnyng the matier required some thyng for a season to beare with suche as from Iewyshenes were turned to the gospel (because they could not vtterly be brought from y^e religion, wherin accordyng to theyr elders lawes was, they were nozed euen from theyr youthe) leste by that occasiō many might from Christe be discouraged: so was there a diligence to be vsed, that through oure aduertisement suche people myghte be con|tent to leaue any lenger to be borne with, specially synce

therin there was more ieopardy, than auauntage. For of them, whiche of Iewes embrace the doctrine of the gospell, a verye small noumber is there, in comparison of them, whom we of the Gētiles by our preachyng, haue enryched Christ with.

And of theyr further encrease also stande we in great hope, synce the Gentiles dwell so fer and wyde abrode in the worlde, whereas the Iewes in comparison be containned, but within a very narrow cumpace. Nowe of the Gentiles the greatest parte in suche sorte abhorre circumcision, that more lyke were they to forsake Christ, & his gospell, then vpon them to re|ceiue the yoke of suche an odious law. Beside al this also, this greater ieolpardy is to be feared, leste yf men longe & in most places abrode vse suche kynde of sufferauce and bearyng, it come to passe, that the free benefite of our saluacion, for the whiche goddes goodnes and oure fayth shoulde be thāked, greatly seme to hang vpon the ceremonies of the law. Which yf men se obserued by the chiefe apostles, then wyll suche, as are somewhat bent to supersticion, take it, as thoughe without them the fayth taught by the gospell to the attaynyng of euerlastyng saluacion were not sufficient. For what is externally done, all men se, but with what myndes and pur|pose thynges are done, that se they not.

Page [unnumbered]

And in matiers of suspicion it is a knowen thyng, that men are commōly gyuen alway to suspecte the wurste. Bye meane wherof, that they shall do for the tyme, gyuing place to the excedyng supersticion of the Iewes, and agaynst theyr conscience, wyll other iudge, as done of deuocion, and not beare with theyr weakenes. Men haue for a season borne w^tthe Iew|es ineuitable strupulositie, from whome they must nowe by lytle and litle encrease to better. But to exacte that of the Gentiles, whiche was but for a tyme suffered in the Iewes, that maye by no meanes be borne with. The Iewes fyrste were excused by reason of a certayne perswasion receyued of theyr predecessours, and besyde that by a long custome, whose power is asmuche effectuall, as is the power of nature: agayne by that god was y[•] authour of theyr lawe, by dyuerse other thynges also, of which none maye be brought for defence of the Gentiles, yf they shoulde lykewyse myngle Moses lawe and Christes together. But now am I specially put in trust with the Gentiles, as Peters charge is ouer the Iewes. And meete it is that eche of vs pryncypallye haue a regarde to his owne cure and charge.

The texte.

But when Peter was come to Antioche, I withstoode hym openly, because he was worthy to be blamed. For yet that certayne came from Iames, he dyd eare wyth the Gentiles. But when they were come, he withdrewe and

separated hymselfe from thē, fearing them whiche were of the circumcision. And the other Iewes dissembled aswel as he: in somuche that Barnabas also was brought into theyr simulacion.

Wherin surely I wyll gyue place to no mannes authoritie, in somuche that when Peter came to Antioche, albeit among the apostles I well wist that his autoritie was chiefe, yet nothyng doubted. I playnlye and euen at his face to withstand hym, more esteamyng the gospell, than the dignitie that he was in. Nor letted I before all men to reproue his waueryng inconstancie and pretended feare, synce the acte selfe was for this wel wor|thy^{*} reprove, because the same made to the great daunger of manye, which were lykely otherwyse to take it, than was by hym ment, euen as thoughe he had so done vpon a conscience, and not to beare with the Iewes infir|mitie. For where he before syttyng at dyner with certayne, whiche of Gen|tiles wer come to the profession of the gospel, with thē eating indifferent|ly all kyndes of meates, streyght when certayne Iewes sent from Iames^{*} came vpon them at diner tyme, he withdrewe hymself from the table, pre|tendyng, as thoughe he had not with them indifferentlye eaten commen meates: without doubte fearyng leste he shoulde offende theyr conscien|ces, whom he thought as yet somewhat more superstitious than coulde wholly forsake and leaue suche choise of meates, & to be also suche, whiche iudged, that it coulde not well stande with godlynes, that a Iewe shoulde with a Gentile asmuche as sytte at one table. Whiche cloke and pretense of Peter, albeit it came of a good mynde, yet was it some thing vndiscrete^{*} and lyke to haue turned to the vtter destruccion of many, because not on|lye the rest of the Iewes that sate with vs, fauored Peters dissemblyng, but also my felowe Barnabas moued with Peters authoritie, euen with Peter withdrewe hymself from that syttyng.

Page vii

Whose dissemblyng there was no doubt, but that all the rest welnigh would haue folowed, had not remedye been founden with fierce and vel|hement resistence and contencions.

The texte.

But when I sawe that they went not the right way after the trueth of the gospel. I sayd vnto Peter before them al: If thou beyng a Iewe, liuest after the maner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Iewes: Why causest thou the Gentiles to liue as do the Iewes? For we whiche are Iewes by nature, and not synners of the Gentiles, knowe, that a mā is not iustified by the dedes of the law, but by the fayth of Iesus Christ: And we haue beleued on Iesus Christ,

that we might be iustified by the fayth of Christ, and not by the deedes of the lawe: because that by the deedes of the lawe no fleshe shalbe iustified.

When I perceiued therfore, that certaine, one while applyng them to the gētiles fredome, and other whiles to the Iewes weakenes, haulted as it were betwixt both, nor went the right way, nor stedfastly forward, as the trueth of the gospell would, whiche at that tyme was so brymme, that it was tyme without all clokyng stedfastly to professe the same, that the ceremonies of the lawe were abolished, and to saluacion offered by the gospel helpe nothyng, to remedy the peril that euery manne was in, plainly in euery mannes sight I resisted and gainsayed Peter: that vpon correccion of the heade, all might by his example amende, as they would when they should see, that euen he obeyed my reformation. And by these wordes resisted I him, and sayd: what meanest thou Peter? for what pur|pose is it, that thou this wyse withdrawest thy selfe? Why doest thou, whiles thou vndiscretely fearest for thy Iewes, drawe these my Gentiles* into a daungerous supersticion? For if thou beyng a natural Iewe thy selfe & yet not regardyng y^e superstitious vsages of thy coūtreymen, liue euen as the Gentiles do, coumptyng nothyng vncleane, but that whiche is to Godwarde vncleane, synce againe thou hast at other tymes here|tofore done likewyse with Cornelius Cēturio, and euen now at this tyme also here in our company, why art thou now become vnlike thy selfe, why doest thou inconstantly withdrawe the from diner, euen as though it so were with the, that wheras before this tyme thou shewedst thy self not to regard the differences in meates, nor yet to be with gentiles conuersant, that suche actes of thine were not done vpon any suche iudgement and discrecion, but to please men withal: nor semest thou to vnderstande, that this thyne example not onely confirmeth the Iewes in theyr supersticion, whiche were mete to be abolished, but y^e the Gentiles also, whiche are be|comen christians, are like to be compelled through thine example, whiche arte among the Apostles chief, to be charged with the ceremonies of the Iewes, from whō Christ would haue men free, not onely them, whom the grace of the gospel found fre, but also y^e Iewes selfe, whō it found bonde. We that are no Gentiles borne, whom the Iewes cal synners & vnpure,* whiche at the tyme of preachyng the gospel were in dede Idolaters, but are by nature Iewes, borne vnder the lawe, whervnto for a season we wel obeyed, beyng yet taught, that through the kepyng of the lawe noman is iustified, but rather by a certaine cōfidence, wherby we trust through the fre mercy of Christ to haue remission of synnes▪ mistrustyng the lawe of our elders, we resorte to Christes religion, trustyng by meane therof to

obtaine righteousnes, not suche as may bryng vs into mennes fauor, but into the fauor of God, whiche the keypyng of the ceremonial lawe, as a thing not sufficient, was not able to bryng aboute. And shal we now be beginners and authors, that the Gentiles mistrustyng Christ shall now seke vpon the succour of the lawe, specially synce we well knowe, that through the benefite of the lawe no man before God is made righteous? If menne were, what nede were it to resorte to the fayth of the gospel?

The texte.

If while we seeke to be made righteous by Christ, we our selues are found sinners, is Christ then the minister of sinne? God forbid.

And if after our once receiuyng the fayth of the gospel, we be neuertheles found subiecte to synne, so that we nede yet an other remedy, as muche as we had nede of beyng vnder Moses lawe, and beyng disapointed of the hope we stode in, so that we now againe are compelled to seke vpon the lawe, that of vs was forsaken, what shal we say? shal we say that Christ,^{*} whom we beleued to be the author of perfite iustice, is the minister of vn|righteousnes? who not onely deliuereth vs not from our olde vn|righteousnes, but is also an occasion of encrease therof, and not onely geueth vnto vs not the welthy state whiche we loked for, but also causeth our cō|demnacion to be more grieuous, forasmuche as vpō hope of him we for|soke the lawe: whervnto if we againe be compelled to returne, we might seme not without fault & vnaduisedly to haue forgone it, of whiche fault Christ semeth the very occasion. But God forbid, that any man so iudge of Christ, or thinke that the grace of his gospel doeth lacke any perfeccilon, so that towarde the attainment of saluacion we should nede to seeke somewhat out of Moses law.

The texte.

For if I haue builde againe the thinges, whiche I destroyed, then make I my selfe a trespasser. For I through the lawe, haue been dead to the lawe, that I might liue vn|to Christ,

For to returne againe to Moses, after we once haue receiued the lawe of the gospel, it is a certain fallyng away from Christ and reproche to the gospel, yea, what Iewe or straunger soeuer so doeth, therein declareth he him selfe also to be a transgressour of Moses lawe. For if the lawe any thyng made to saluacion, why forsoke he it? if it nothyng made, why falleth he to it agayne? If the buildyng throwen doune with myne owne handes, I begynne euen from the foundation to buylde the same againe, whiche I erste destroyed, shewe not I therin my foly, whiche sette that vp againe, whiche I vnaduisedly destroyed? No cause is there then why after

we haue once embraced the fayth of the gospel, by whom the goodnes of Christ would we should receiue perfite righteousnes and saluacion, to regarde the succour of the grosse lawe, whervnto we are now no lenger bonde. For as the death of either of the two married deliuereth the partie that is left on liue frō the bonde of matrimony: so had I, whilche am a Iewe, with the lawe somewhat to do, as long as that mutual right endured, that is to say, as long as the lawe liued vnto me, and I liued to the lawe.

The texte.

I am crucified with Christ, Neuerthelesse I liue: yet now not I, but Christ liueth in me The life whiche I now liue in the fleshe, I liue by the fayth of the sonne of God, whiche loued me, and gaue him selfe for me, I dispise not the grace of God: For if righ|teousnes come of the lawe, then Christ died in vaine.

But assone as through the death of Christ and the sacrament of bap|tisme I became prentice to the spiritual lawe of fayth, I was in maner to the grosse and carnal lawe dead, yet not so dead, that I liued not, but so dead, that I begunne to liue after a better way and condicion. Hitherto liued I to Moses, but now liue I to God. For God is a spirite.

As Christ liued before a mortal man, hauyng a body subiecte to miselries, as ours is, so he beyng now dead to the fleshe, and also to the world, liueth to God the father, free from all corrupcion and miseries of death. But I, whiche through baptisme am crucified with Christ, and also dead with him, am so farre from beyng bonde to these grosse and carnal, rather than spiritual and godly obseruaunces, that to them I am dead. For I liue not grosse and carnal as I once was, subiect also to worldly desires: Dead is Saule the stoute de•ender of the law, & persecutor of the gospel, and yet through the spirite of Christ haue I receiued life now muche bet|ter. Or rather I liue not my selfe, whiche of my selfe am nothyng but car|nal,* but in me liueth Christ, who•e holy spirite at his wyll and pleasure gouerneth all myne actes. But wheras I am not yet free from all contal|gion of death, but haue stil a body, somewhat subiecte to mannes weake|nes, & the discōmodities of this mortall life, yet in maner liue I a life im|mortal, conceiued in my soule through sure hope, assuryng my selfe vpō the promise of the sonne of God, through whose bounteous mercy I haue receiued y• gift of fayth, & through fayth righteousnes, through righte|ousnes, life euerlastyng, not by keapyng of the grosse lawe, but through the singular goodnes of Christ, who of his owne good wyll loued me de|seruyng no suche thyng, so greatly that for my synnes he suffered

the punishment of the crosse, and for my welth gaue him selfe to death.
Free is all that he geueth.

His pleasure was, that for our saluacion we should to him be beholding, and not to the keeping of the lawe. He it is whiche frely geueth this benefite to all men. He it is whiche taketh a way synne, and geueth pure and innocent life. Were not I most vnkynde, yea were I not spitefull against Christ, if I refused his offre? And refuseth he not it, who after baptisme receiued, loketh backe againe for helpe of the lawe, as though to abolishe al the synnes of the worlde, and to geue euery manne euerlasting saluacion, Christes death were not sufficient? If through innocent and hurtles life we become immortal, whence (I pray you) rather loke we to receiue both, by confidence in the law, or by the free mercy of Christ? If by his free mercy, why hang we styl on the lawe? If by keeping of Moses, then is Christ dead in vayne, forasmuche as that, for whiche his pleasure was to dye, by his death we geate not.

Page [unnumbered]

The third Chapter.

The texte.

O ye folishe Galathians: who hath bewitched you, that ye should not beleue the truth? To whō Iesus Christ was described before the eyes, & now among you crucified

Comenly among men for your folishenes and childishnes are ye euil spoken of, but this may I truely say: O ye folishe Galathians, whiche would be brought in to an opinion so farre from all reason, that where the Iewes through the fayth of the gospel preached vnto them, are deliuered frō the burden of the law, ye beyng free menne borne, wyl wilfully cast your selfe into bondage. The harme whiche is herein done, I lay not wholly to your charge, but blame your lightenes to beleue, & easynes to be persuaded: but much more blame I the malice of certaine, who haue altered your former mindes, which would God ye would rather haue folowed simple as they are, than the vngracious counsel of some other.

What was he, that through an enuye and grudge borne against your weale, vnder whiche ye haue hitherto continued, through the libertie of the gospel, hath bewitched you, and charmyng out your christian mynde hath by enchauntment cast you into this frensy, that ye as men mistrusting Christ, should seke for helpe of the colde and baraine lawe? Where is that singular confidence become, whereby through the death of

Christ ye were in sure hope to haue perfite righteousnes and saluacion, without heal•e and ayde of the lawe? Ye I say, in whose heartes Iesus Christ the onely author of our saluacion was so farfoorth grauen and printed, whō with the iyen of your fayth ye in suche sorte sawe by his crosse recōcilyng all the worlde to his father, as though he had been painted before your faces, and as though your selues had been witnesses of that dede doyng, whiche was in dede done at Ierusalem. The Iewes that sawe him hanlgyng on the crosse, and yet denied him, sawe not so muche as ye did. Among you, whiche by his death trusted to receiue euerlasting saluaciō, was he verely crucified. Your iyen were alwaye vpon the brasen serpent hanged vp vpon the tree, of whom onely ye trusted to receiue the holsome remedy of all your synnes. And whither now sodainly cast ye your iyen?

The texte.

This onely would I learne of you, whether ye receiued the spirite by the dedes of the lawe, or by preachyng of the fayth? Are ye so vnwyse, that after ye haue begonne in the spirite, ye now ende in the fleshe? So many thinges ye haue suffered in vaine, if it be also in vaine.

If there be in you yet any wytte left, euen consider me this, whiche vnlesse ye be blind, ye may easily vnderstand, and so do I, because I wyl not subtilly reason the matter with you, nor seeke for farre fetched argulmentes. Ye remembre, that lately at my preachyng of the gospel, how through baptisme and puttyng of my handes vpon you ye receiued the spirite of Christ. It was no vaine persuacion. The wonderfull worke of God ensuyng thervpon, as the gifte of languages, of prophecie, of heallyng, and other giftes made plaine profe, that this came by the power of God, and by no mannes craftie conueyaunce.

Page ix

This spirite of God (I say) whether (I pray you) receiued ye it by Moses circumcision, or els by that, through my preachyng ye beleued the gospel of Christ? Notwithstādyng that ye to Moses were straungers, yet gaue Christ vnto you through fayth his strong and mightie spirite, as an earnest peny of the blissed state, he promised vnto you. And why should ye now elsewhere of any other looke for saluacion, than of him, of whom ye haue receiued so plaine a gage of blisse to come?

If I to you preached circumcision, and if by trust therein ye receiued the heauenly spirite of God, then am I content, that for some parte of your saluacion ye shal geue thanks to Moses lawe, but if I nothyng taught you, but Iesus Christ, and that by puttyng your confidence in him onely ye found in your selfe euen the same giftes, that the Iewes through

bap|tisme receiue, why should ye in despite of Christ seeke for the heauye and paineful burden of lewishnes? Wyse and thriuynge scholers from rude beginnynges growe forwarde and encrease, but ye from suche godly and commendable rudimentes fal backe to the worse.

The Iewes borne vnder the bondage of the grosse lawe, forsakyng the ceremonies of theyr elders, repayre vnto the spiritual doctrin of the gos|pel. Ye contrary, from the godly beginnyng of the gospel and your hea|uently profession, growe out of kinde into a lewishe supersticion. They of Iewes become christian menne, and labor ye of christians to become Iewes? What neded vs to be indaungered and become debter to Christ, if Moses law sufficiently worke our saluacion? Why forsake ye now him for whose sake ye haue suffered suche afflictions, euen of them that hated Christes name and glory? For who so through circumcision thinketh to be saued, the same man is fallen from Christ.

Wyll ye in suche sorte vse your selfe, that menne of you shal thinke, ye haue for Christes sake suffered in vaine suche great afflictions? But God forbid, that ye haue suffered them in vayne. Out of the right way are ye, but so are ye not for lacke of good wyl, but for lacke of knowledge, not of malice in your partie, but rather staggering through the enticemēt of o|ther. Amende by tymes, and feare not, but that ye shall nethesle enioye the fruite of your olde fayth.

The texte.

Moreouer he that ministreth to you the spirite, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it through the dedes of the lawe, or by the preachyng of the fayth? euen as A|braham beleued God, and it was ascribed to him for righteousnes.

Tell me now then, whether God, who geueth you his holy spirit, who in meruailous workes by you sheweth his mightie power, whether (I say) doth God this, because ye haue through kepyng of Moses law wōne his fauor, or els rather, because at our preachyng ye gaue credence to the gospel? If Gentiles, when they become Iewes, worke suche miracles assone as they be circumcised, as ye do, then some cause were there, to be desyrous of the lawe: but if these wonderfull workes be seen in none, but suche as haue receiued the fayth in the gospel, why should you elsewhere looke for the ende, then whence ye see the same begunne? The beginnyng and author of circumcision is Abraham, whose children the Iewes glory that they be, and are circumcised as he was. But not so muche as he ob|tained

through circumcision the praise of perfite iustice, but onely by credence geuyng to Goddes promise, at what tyme he was not yet circum|cised. Nor reade we in Genesis, Abraham was circumcised, and thereby became righteous, but Abraham beleued God, & that to him was coump|ted for righteousness.

The texte.

Ye knowe therfore, that they whiche are of fayth, the same are the children of Abra|ham.

The promise therfore made long since to Abrahams posteritie is none of theyrs, nor belongeth to any of them, that haue nothing els but Abra|hams circumcision, but to suche as by fayth geuyng to the gospel are his natural children. They that of theyr circumcision are proude, and boste them selfe to be Abrahams children, make suche vaunte and crakes al in vaine, synce they be bastardes, and not the lawfull begotten children of Abrahā. For suche & none els are natural children to him, as faythfully and with all theyr heartes geue credence vnto God, & as Abraham did, put theyr trust in him, speakyng vnto vs by his gospel, of what stocke so euer they be descended. It is not carnal kynred, that is herein regarded and esteemed, but like perfeccion of myndes.

The texte.

For the scripture seyng afore hande, that God would iustifie the heathen through fayth: shewed before hand glad tidynges vnto Abrahā, saying: in the shal all nacions be blessed. So then they, whiche are of fayth, are blessed with faythful Abraham.

Now marke and conside, how this my saying scriptures many yeres gon testified and ment, that is to wete, that al men through fayth should loke for saluacion, & not onely a fewe lewes by circumcision. That now is preached vnto you by the gospel, the same many hundreth yeres gone God promised to Abraham, saying: in the shal al nacions be blessed, and wyne praise: But now could it in no wyse be true, that al nacions shuld be borne of Abraham, and yet through him is the blessing promised vn|to all people, as though all were his posteritie, as they in dede be, not be|cause all are of his blood and stocke, but by resemblyng his fayth. For it besemeth children to resemble their parentes. Therefore, suche as mistrul|styng the ceremonies and workes of the lawe, haue an vndoubted trust in the promises of the gospel, as true children of Abrahā, shall with theyr faythful father enioy the blessing promised vnto him, from whiche suche shalbe excluded as bastardes & vnlawfully begotten, more worthy to be cursed, than blessed as by circumcision trust to be saued.

The texte.

For as many as are of the dedes of the lawe, are subiecte to the curse For it is writtē, Cursed be euery one, that continueth not in all thinges whiche are written in the boke of the lawe, to fulfil them.

For as many as hang vpon the obseruaunces of Moses law, whō they kepe not in dede, but breake, are vnder all Goddes indignacion & curse. The Iewes selfe cannot deny this, forasmuche as in the boke of Deute|ronomie this wyse it is written, cursed be he that continueth not in all thinges, whiche are written in the boke of the lawe, and doeth not suche thinges as by the lawe are cōmaunded. By whiche wordes ye see, that suche as kepe the lawe ceremonial, are not for that promised to be made

Page x

righteous, but the transgressers therof are threatened goddes curse. What man is he, that is able to perfourme the whole lawe, specially synce it is suche a thyng, whiche when through inhibicion it hath prouoked men to syn, gyueth no strength nor ablenes to suppress and ouercome desyers.

The texte.

That no man is iustified by the lawe in the syght of god it is euident. For the iuste shall lyue by fayth The law is no • of fayth, but the man that fulfilleth the thinges con|tayned in the lawe, shall lyue in them.

But brieflye to graunt, that a man maye throughlye kepe the lawe, suche one happely shall among men be taken and accoumpted for ryghtelouse, but not be lykewyse coumpted before god, at whose hande, yf no man throughe keping the ceremonial lawe of Moses, be iudged for righteous, without doubte trewe is it, that by the prophet A•acu• is wrytten, that the righteous lyueth by fayth. For as syn is the seede, wherof death groweth: so is godlye lyfe, the begynnyng and wel spryng of lyfe. The law hangeth vpon keping of certayne prescript ceremontes, and not vpon fayth, which ceremonies who so obserueth and kepeth shall lyue in dede▪ but not the eluerlastyng lyfe wherof we are throughe faythe put in assuraunce. Looke what righteousnes the lawe gyueth lyke kynde of lyfe gyueth it. Among men, so is it, that whoso breaketh not the rules of the law, he is ryghteous and lyueth among men oute of all feare of punishmēt, but before god nei|ther shall he be accoũpted for righteous, nor yet for lyuyng, vnles he surely truste vpon the promises made in the gspell.

The texte.

Christe hath deliuered vs from the curse of the lawe inasmuche as he was made as cursed for vs. For i• is written, cursed is euery one, that hāgeth on tree, that the blessing of Abraham might come on the gentiles, through Iesus Christe, that we might receyue the promise of the spirite through fayth.

Christe only among other was not vnder the curse of the lawe, but as an innocente and hurtles lambe to the law nothing endaungered. We were in daunger to it, and by reason therof accursed, whiche wretchednes and curse he delyuered vs from, turnyng our offence into innocencie, and oure curse into blessing. So that muche lesse woulde he haue you nowe vnder the bōdage of the carnal law. But howe delyuered he vs? Without doubte, by that he beyng without all spot or syn, vpon his bodye tooke the payne, that was for oure trespasses dewe, and the curse, vnder whome we were, toke vpon hymselfe, whereas he was from that, free, and partaker of blessing. To•e he not oure trespasses vpon hym, whiche as an offender, among offenders for oure redempcion suffered the shamefull vilanie of the crosse? For i• the boke of Deuteronomie this we reade, cursed is euery one that hangeth on a tree. And why woulde god haue it so? Surelye, to the intente, that the curse of the lawe beyng taken awaye, the blessing, that once was promised to Abraham, shoulde in steede of it, throughe fayth take place. Take place (I saye) not in the Iewes onely, but in the Gentiles to, not throughe the benefite of the lawe, whome Christ• woulde haue abolyshed, but by the free mercye of Iesus Christe, by

Page [unnumbered]

whose death we beyng brought agayne into goddes fauour, & delyuered from the burden of the grosse lawe, maye throughe fayth obtayne the bles|syng of the gospell promised to Abrahams posteritie, the spirituall poste|ritie (I meane) and not the carnall. Let vs surely truste in god, for he wil of his promyse deceyue no manne, but what he promised, that wyll he per|fourme.

The texte.

¶ Brethren, I speake after the maner of men, though it be but a mannes testament, yet yf it be allowed, no manne dispiseth it, or addeth any thyng therto. To Abraham and his seede were the promises made, he sayth not in his seedes, as manye: but in thy seede, as of one, whiche is Christe.

But to the intent ye shall the better vnderstand this, loe a worldly and familiar example. For thoughe betwixt god and man, there be no

compa|rison, yet a mannes testamente and couenaunte, when it is once allowed and ratified, no manne either breaketh, or putteth any thyng to it, contralry to the wyll of the maker: howe muche more stable and sure then should^{*} the couenauntes and promises of god be? God promised Abraham a bles|syng, whiche by his seede all nacions of the worlde shoulde haue. Wher|in it is to be obserued and marked, that scripture sayde not seedes, but seede, leste we by Daudid, Moses, or any other myght loke to haue goddes promise, but in his wordes noted the only seede, and the verye seede of the euerlastyng Abraham, whiche is Iesus Christe, into whome throughe baptisme and throughe the receyuyng of the spirite, we throughe him loke for the same gyftes, whiche god hath already gyuen vnto hym.

The texte.

This I saye, that the lawe whiche began afterwarde, beyonde foure hundred and thirtie yeares, dothe not disanull the testamente that was confirmed afore of God vnto Christwarde, to make the promise of none effecte. For yf the inheritaunce come of the lawe, it commeth not nowe of promise. But god gaue it vnto Abraham by promyse.

But further to compare the former example, the promise and couenaūt whiche god, before the lawe was gyuen made with Abraham, whiche pro|mise he woulde haue to be stable, the lawe whiche folowed and was gyuē after the same promise and couenaunt, coulde not defete nor disanul. And yet shoulde it restrayne and disapoynt the promise, yf the inheritaunce of goddes blessing promised to Abrahams posteritie, were due to suche only, as kepe the lawe, forasmuche as in the promyse there is no condicion of y[•] lawe expressed. For howe coulde therin of the lawe be any mencion made, synce the lawe was not at that tyme gyuen? For in case the lawe had not folowed the promise at all, yet woulde god netheles with Abrahams po|steritie haue kepte the couenaunt made with Abraham. Nowe yf the pro|mise of this blessed state be due by reason of goddes promise, and the pro|mise made before the law had no condicion of keping the law ioyned w^t it,^{*} for what cause exclude we frō the promise, suche as to y[•] law are straūgers, and not straungers to fayth? For yf by the lawe men enioye thenheritaūce

then is goddes promise and couenaunt frustrate and broken, whiche god without kepyng of the lawe wyll not perfourme. Euen lyke as when a man hath agreed with an other to gyue hym his doughter in mariage, af|ter that the bargayne is made, he go from his worde, denying that he will so

do, vnles the other agayne wyll promise hym his syster, wheras at the bargayne makyng he had no syster borne, nor at tyme of the couenaunte, of mutual mariage no mencion made. The promise of god was free, and vpon the onlye condicion of fayth confirmed, whom who so perfourmeth, the same man hath right to the promise.

The texte.

Wherefore then serueth the lawe? The lawe was added because of transgression (vn|tyll the seede came to whome the promise was made) and it was ordayned by angelles in the hande of a mediator.

But here some wyll saye, yf by fayth in goddes promise euery manne must loke for saluacion, for what ende and purpose made god the vnpro|fitable lawe afterwarde? No, saye not, al vnprofitable, for albeit it make not a manne vpright and innocent, yet restrayneth it oure libertie to syn, whyles it with ceremonies kepeth noughtie desyers and appetites with|in a due measure and compase of ryght reason. And had not the vnrule^{*} malice of men so required, there had no lawe be gyuen at al, and yet was not the same lawe gyuen neyther, that all men shoulde therto wholye for euer be bounde, but gyuen by god for a tyme, shadowyng for the season Christe to come, with punishementes fearyng men from synne, and with promises prouokynge them to do well, for this purpose made and orday|ned by aungels at goddes commaundement, to endure vntyll that after many eares the only seede shoulde come, wherby the god of Abraham pro|mised saluacion to all Abrahams lawfull chyldren.

In suche sorte was the law made by angels, that yet the whole power and gouernaunce of it had Christe in his handes, who in suche wyse was a meane and came betwixt Moses lawe, and the grace of the gospell, that he was the ende of the one, and the begynner of the other, in suche sorte al|so a meane betwixte god and man, that to thentent he would betwixt both make atonement, in hymselfe he comprised bothe natures.

The texte.

A mediatour is not a mediatour of one. But god is one. Is the lawe then agaynste the promyse of God? God forbid.

Now a mediatour that is a meane betwixte, must needes be a meane betwixte many. For no man is there, that with hymselfe is at dissencion. Of them that disagreed, god the fater was one▪ who with mākynde was at variaunce. Wherefore necessarie was it, that there shoulde a certayne thyrde parson be, whiche in hymselfe contaynyng both natures shoulde bryng bothe at vntie and concorde, with his death fyrste pacifyng gods

wrath, and then with his doctrine alluring all the worlde to the trewe holnouryng of god.

Page [unnumbered]

Is the lawe then contrarie to goddes promises? no not so. Forasmuche as the lawe folowyng the promyse made by god, made not the same promise wayne, but kepte men in a continual expectacion & loking for goddes promises, that by so doyng they myght be more apte and readye to receyue the grace to be offered by the gospell. Nor is not the lawe abolyshed, because it was agaynst goddes promises, but because it was conuenient & meete, that shadowes should gyue place to the truth: and the vnfactuall, to that whiche was mightie and effectuall.

The texte.

For yf there had bene a lawe giuen whiche coulde haue gyuen lyfe: then no doubt righteousnes should haue come by the lawe. But the scripture concludeth all thinges vnder syn. That the promise by the fayth of Iesus Christe shoulde be gyuen vnto them that beleue. But before fayth came, we were kepte vnder the lawe, and were shutte vp vnto the faythe, that should afterwarde be declared.

For yf there had suche a lawe bene gyuen, as coulde vnfaynedlye and truly haue giuen lyfe, then should the same neuer haue bene abrogate, nor shoulde we haue had any nede of the healpe and ayde of the gospell, for asmuche as then by the lawe euery man might haue attayned vnto perfect righteousenes. Sufficient had it bene therfore in that case to truste vpon the lawe, for all them that were of euerlastyng saluacion desyrouse. But now, lest men vpon boldenes of theyr workes myghte despise the ^{*} grace of Christe, for this purpose was the lawe gyuen, declaryng and prescribyng, what was to be done, and what was to be auoyded, that all men shoulde perceyue themself in daunger of syn, whyles they shūne not, that they by the lawe knewe was euyll, being vndoubtedly ouercommen with theyr noughtie desyers, and by these meanes knowyng theyr own disease, myght more willyngly embrace the remedie to be offered by the grace of the gospell. For before the lawe was gyuen, menne without correccion fell to syn, to whome all that lyked, was streyght thought lawfull, and in defence of mennes synfull lyfe some thyng had they to laye for theyr excuse. But the lawe had them in suche a brake, that they coulde not chuse, but graunt, that they had well deserued punishment, for somuche as it could not be denied, but that it was good and honeste, whiche was by the lawe commaunded. After that god therfore by his great wysedom had by suche meanes taken awaye our wayne confidence in our selves, and had sette before oure iyen our synfull lyuyng, than declareth and perfourmeth he his promise made to

Abraham, and that, whiche the Iewes only looked for, as peculiarlye belongyng to them, beyng as they sayed, the only chyldren of Abraham, generally to belong to all suche, as were through fayth becom|men Abrahams very chyldren, not for theyr deserte of keapyng the lawe, but because they with all theyr heartes put theyr affiaunce in the ghospel, and beleued also that through the death of Iesus Christe, godly lyfe shal all people haue, and receyue glory also and saluacion.

For this purpose lykewyse for a season serued Moses lawe, that partly with manacyng of punishmentes, partly w^t hope of promises made therin

Page xii

and partly with rude expressing of Christe to come, the Iewes after suche sorte within theyr bondes, leste Christe at his commyng should haue found them strayed out into all kyndes of mischief, neither worthy, nor yet apte to receyue the grace of his gospels. By the promises then of the lawe had the Iewes a certayne rude knowledge of the misterie of the gospels. By the obseruaunce of this lawe then were menne so long stayed and vnder|pyght, vntyll that was by the ghospel opened, whiche the law in shadow|les represented, that yf men wyll nowe awake, they maye clearlye see euen that put in vre, wherof they before had but a dreame.

The texte.

¶ Wherfore the lawe was oure scholemaister vnto Christe that we might be made ryghteouse by faythe. But after that fayth is come, we are no lenger vnder the schole|maister. For ye are the chyldren of God, because ye beleue in Christe Iesu. For al ye that are baptised, haue put on Christ.

The lawe therfore brought not men to perfite righteousnes, but was as a scholemaister gyuen to the rude people, that whome the regarde of ho|nestie was not yet able to kepe in good order, they myghte with feare of* punishement be kept from extreme noughtines: that through suche meales encreasyng by lytle and lytle, they mighte be broughte from trustyng vpon theyr olde ceremonies vnto Christ, of whome onely they should loke to receyue perfite righteousnes.

Nowe is not the chylde •o vnder his scholemaister, that the schole|maister with hym muste al waye be at hande, but onely vntyll suche tyme, as they beyng more ripe and growen vppe to better knowledge euen of theyr owne accorde fall to honestie, nor haue nede with feare of punish|mente to be kepte from euyll, but by theyr fathers encouragyng freelye and wyllingly study goodnes and honestie, an other whyle nowe rulyng theyr scholemaister, whose holsome and sharpe correction they for a tyme

endured. As the father therefore, though he tenderly loue his chyldren, com|pelleth them yet for a tyme to be vnder a scholemaister, whose maister the chyldren in shorte tyme after shall be: so hathe god with sharpenes of the lawe kepte vnder his rude and grosse people, vntyll that they concerning the doctrine of his ghospel, beyng made their owne menne should no len|ger neede to be vnder correccion of theyr scholemaister, but lyue freelye, as free chyldren vnder theyr moste mercifull father.

And though it so were, that god gaue vnto the Iewes onely, a schole|mayster,^{*} yet toke he not them onelye for his chyldren, but o|ather coum|pted all suche as by faythe in the ghospell are graffed into the bodye of Iesus Christe, and endued with his holye spirite, to be goddes chyldrē, as soone as they are with Christe made one. Nowe yf that, wherby we are ioyned vnto Christe, generallye belong to all menne, what lette shoulde there be, why God shoulde not indifferently coumpte all for his chyldren? Throughe baptisme haue ye receyued the spirite of Christe, and not by circumcision.

Page [unnumbered]

As many then, as are baptised, are become with Christ ioyned enheriters, in that behalfe no poynt inferior to the Iewes, boast they themself of the priuelege of circumcision neuer somuche.

The texte.

There is no Iewe neither Gentile: there is neither bonde neither free: there is nei|ther man nor woman, for ye are all one in Christe Iesu. Yf ye be Christes, then are ye A|brahams seede, and heyres accordyng to the promyse.

In thinges, that hange vpon mennes fauer, the condicion, state, and persons are regarded, but god woulde this benefite of his to be bothe free and also comen to all men. Throughe baptisme are we newe borne alayne, and sodenly altered, as it were into a newe creature. And as tou|ching this gyft, it is layed to noman, nor passed vpon, whether he were be|fore baptisme, Iewe or Gentile, bonde man or free, manne or woman. All ye through baptisme are belonging to Christes bodie, equally partakers of this goddes gifte, whiche is from the head conuayed into all the mem|bers.

And yf Christe be the very seede of Abraham, by whom god promi|sed^{*} his blessing to all nacions of the worlde, forasmuche as ye are plan|ted in Christe, nedes must ye be Abrahams posteritie. Farther then, yf ye be Abrahams posteritie, euen lyke heyres ye haue ryght to y|[•] promise of god. Yf through the felowshyp of Christe ye become goddes chyldren, and into

it are all receyued through fayth and baptisme, necessarily it foloweth, that the inheritaunce elquallye appertayneth to all men.

The fourth Chapter.

The texte.

And I say, that the heyre, (as long as he is a childe) differeth not from a seruaunt, through he be lord of all, but is vnder tuters and gouernours vntil the tyme that the falther hath appointed: euen so we also, when we were children, were in bondage vnder the ordinaunces of the worlde.

Long synce by Goddes promise due was the title of inheritaunce, but now and not before are we receiued into it, because (as we before sayd) as by mannes lawes and ordinaunces, the heyre, while he is within age, vseth not his right, yea he nothing differeth frō a seruaūt, where he is borne to be lorde ouer all, but is kept vnder with feare, and ruled as other men wyll, passyng that tyme vnder creansers & gouernours, vntyl he be growen vp to that rypenes, whiche either the lawe or his father hath appointed: so likewyse in tyme past, when we were yet not apt to receiue this gift, whiche requireth euen heauēly mindes, our vnderstādinges also therto, not of strēgth sufficient as yet, we were like children w^tsuche certaine grosse lawes, as were mete for our infirmities, kept in due ordre, beyng suche at that tyme, as could not sauor heauenly learnyng, but rather suche as would with suche thin|ges be more moued, as might with our fleshely iyen be seen, as are the material thynges of this world, for example, differences of dayes, diffe|rēces of meates, differēces in apparel, sacrificyng and killyng of beastes circumcision. As long as we were not apt to receiue higher instruccions, euen as seruauntes we for a season obeyed and were vnder these.

The texte.

But when the time was ful come, God sent his sonne made of a woman, and made bonde vnto the lawe to redeme them, whiche were bonde vnto the lawe: that we through eleccion might receiue the inheritaunce, that belōgeth vnto the natural sōnes.

But assone as we came out of wardship, and were growen vp to a ry|per age, when that tyme was paste, whiche the euerlastyng father in ●●s secrete couēsel had appointed, he suffered vs no lēger to be vnder the car|nal rules of the lawe, but sent for our deliuerance neither Moses,

nor prophete, but his onely sonne Iesus Christ. He sent his sonne (I say) not to be seen, as thinges are seen in a dreame or vision, so that a man might doubt, whether it were so or not, but openly before euery mannes iyen, to be a man borne of a woman, vnder the weakenes of our natures, to the^{*} entent he would readily heale our wretchednes, whom God would haue to be circumcised, & suffre all the bondage of the lawe, to thende he would deliuer the Iewes from the burdaine of the lawe, whom he founde therto subiecte, that noman should thencefoorth like a childe within age, liue vn|der gouernours, but be all called to the libertie of children, for bondage is contrary to the name of a childe.

The texte.

Because ye are sonnes: God hath sent the spirit of his sonne into our heartes which cryeth abba father.

And because God would of his goodnes euidently declare, that we are

Page [unnumbered]

restored into the fredome of children, he puttyng away all feare of pulnishment hath powred euen into the bottome of our heartes, the spirit of his only sonne, who is to vs a most certaine witnes, that we are Gods children. The spirite of seruage sauoreth and cryeth out after one sorte, the loue and good mynde of children after an other. The one desireth to escape the displeasure of his maister, thother with a great confidence crieth, O father, father.

The texte.

Wherefore now thou art not a seruaunt, but a sonne. If thou be a sonne, thou arte also an heyre of God through Christ.

Wherin it is not to be doubted, but that God doeth muche more thāke|fully knowledge the name of godly loue and charitie, than the name of feare. If this were not as I say, neither would Christ haue called his scholers, brethren, nor haue taught menne to praye vnto God vnder the name of a father, when he teacheth vs to say, O our father whiche art in heauen. To whom soeuer therfore God geueth the spirite of his sonne, the same man is no lenger a seruaunt, but a sonne. And if he be through Christ, his sonne, by him likewyse must he be Gods heyre. Namely synce whoso by adopcion receiueth an other into the name of his sonne, he in so doyng geueth him a right to his inheritaunce.

The texte.

Notwithstanding when ye knewe not God, ye did seruice vnto them whiche by nature are no Gods. But now after that ye haue knowen God, (yea rather are knowē of God) how is it, that ye turne againe vnto the weake and beggerly ordinaunces, whervnto againe ye desyre afreshe to be in bondage? Ye obserue dayes, and monethes and tymes, and yeres. I am in feare of you, lest I haue bestowed on you labor in vain.

But as the Iewes for a season were with a grosse religion, or rather supersticion kept vnder, because they should not vtterly slyde from al religion, so, what tyme the true God was vnknownen vnto you, accordyng to the ordinaunces of your elders, ye worshipped deuils, beleuyng them to be Goddes, whiche are in dede none, because he semeth muche nigher true religion, which is vnder a false, than is he, that thinketh there is no God at all, dispisyng all religion. God layeth not to the Iewes charge, because they for a tyme liued vnder theyr elders lawes, frō whom when they were taught better learnyng, they turned to the very right trade of godly conuersacion. Nor is your worshippyng of idolles, whom ye erroneously supposyng to haue an heauenly power in them had in honour, layde against you, synce the tyme, that by preachyng of the gospell ye knewe the liuyng God, or els (to speake it better) synce the tyme ye were^{*} knowen of God, ye found him not, but he by his holy spirite drewe you vnto him, euen as that, whereas ye nowe tenderly loue him, as a father, cōmeth by none other meanes, but because he fyrst loued you. God fauorably and gentilly forgatte your olde errour, but of your owne accorde from the trueth once knowen wylfully to returne againe to the same, that offence is outragious and damnable.

The Iewes beyng taught the true religion, forsake theyr ceremonies: and wyll ye beyng called frō idolatrie, & taught by preachyng the gospell

what perfite religion is, after the receiuyng of the holy ghost, cast your selfe againe headlong into a lewishe bondage, so that wheras ye are fre, ye had rather to be vnder the grosse beginnynges of this worlde, whiche neither are able to make you righteous, nor been effectual to saluacion.^{*} Fall ye not to them againe, when Iewishely ye obserue daies, monethes, and yeres, with other suche differences of tyme, as though the Iewishe sabboth day, the feastes of the newe moone, holy dayes, and other tymes, wherein the Iewes either do certain thinges, or abstaine from certaine o|ther, as from vnlawful actes, any thyng healped onward to saluacion, when to christian men all tymes are free to honour God in?

If ye haue in Christ a sure confidence, whence is this supersticion? If ye haue not, then teare I, lest I haue in vaine bestowed so much labor vpon you for your instruccion. Ye fall from Christ, if ye myngle with him Iewishenes. Suffer not, that either I, whiche haue by suche great and sundry troubles taught you the gospel, lose therein my labor, or that ye in vaine haue suffered for Christ sake suche afflictions.

The texte.

Brethren I beseche you, be ye as I am, for I am as ye are. Ye haue not hurt me at all. Ye knowe, how through infirmitie of the fleshe, I preached the gospel vnto you at the first. And my tēptacion whiche was in the fleshe, ye dispised not, neither abhorred: but receiued me as an angel of God: euen as Christ Iesus.

But rather regarde not the ceremonies of the lawe, as ye see me to do, but put my trust in Christ onely. My selfe sometyme was suche one as ye now he, iudgyng that it was an high pointe of godlynes to be circumcised, to kepe the Iewishe sabboth day, to obserue differences in meates, to sacrifice beastes: for zeale of whō, I then persecuted the church of God, all whiche pointes now reaken I for trifles.

Wheras I brethren somewhat vehemently complaine vpō you, surely this may ye beleue me, I seke not myne owne weale, but yours. I might^{*} with the quiet vprightnes of myne owne conscience be with my selfe contented. I am not displeased with you, for ye haue done me no wronge. I pitie to see you go from suche good beginnynges, looke rather that ye be stable and constant, encreasyng styl from better to better, rather than from better to worse.

What tyme I fyrst preached vnto you the gospell of Iesus Christ, I submitted my selfe to your weakenes, now an other while rise ye vppe to my strength, & lose not the gloriouse praise of your fayth. Of late, when I preached vnto you y^e gospel, ye knewe, I toke no great royal state vpō me, but euen the behauour of a lowe, simple, and abiecte person. I pray you, what saw ye me, but a sealy mā, ready to take harme, hated of many for Christes name, vnder diuerse troubles and vexacions, & beside this, one of a simple and rude language? I taught you nothyng, but that Ie|sus Christ was for your sakes faste vpon the crosse, at whiche tyme suche was the readynes of your fayth, that ye with suche vilenes in my person beyng nothyng offended, neither forsooke nor dispised my gospell, what tyme by fayth therein I promised you life euerlastyng.

Yea (I say) ye receiued me heartely, and with great honoure, not as Paule, but as the angel of God, yea as Iesus Christ him selfe, because ye perceiued, that I brought vnto you no worldely doctrine, but a heauenly and godly: and that I went not aboute myne owne busynes, but labored in Iesus Christes behalfe. God therfore, & Christ worshipped ye in me.

The texte.

What is then your felicitie? For I beare you recorde, that yf it had been possible, ye would haue plucked out your owne eyes, and haue geuen them to me. Am I therfore become your enemy, because I tel you the trueth?

Whiche actes in you well declare the singular fayth ye once had, whiche was so ready, so sounde and constant, that it abated not, notwithstanding myne afflictions, notwithstanding my vilenes. Ioyful was I for it, blessed I iudged you, & my self lucky, in that I had gotten suche good disciples. But if ye of suche good beginnynges repēt you, where is your felicitie becomen, where is also mine, whiche was, what tyme I reioysed of you, and ye likewyse of me? This ought I truely to testifie of you, such loue bare ye towarde me, that if neede had been, ye would haue plucked out euen your iyen out of your heades, and haue geuen them vnto me. And why now slide ye from me by callyng vnto you newe Apostles, to learne of them Iewishnes? With flatteryng and coloured wordes they allure and geat your fauor, not preachyng suche thinges, as helpe to saluacion, but suche as make to theyr lucre and auauncement. Am I therfore become your enemy, because I both plainely and truely taught you suche thinges, as I well wist belonged to your saluacion?

The texte.

They are ielouse ouer you amisse. Yea they entende to exclude you, that ye should be feruent to them warde. It is good alwayes to be feruent in a good thyng, and not onely when I am present with you.

But I wel see Galathiās, wherabout they go, some ielously wooe you and as it were enuiyng at me, labor to wyne your fauor, but yet so do they neither of good ne godly purpose. For they do not this to profite, but to plucke you backe from the libertie of the gospel into a Iewishnes, vnder whiche them selves are. Busily labor they to make other like them, to thende they may seme both to folowe and teache a meruailous and a goodly kynde of doctrine. Thinke not that in euery manne, euery thyng must be folowed, but folowe suche thinges, as are good, and that cōstantly, not onely while I am there present among you, but also when I am absent. Ye sawe me dispise the ceremonies of the lawe, and to preache no thing vnto you, but Christ, and ye folowed my preachyng, while I was present. And if that were well done, why folowe ye now in myne absence other, in suche thinges, as are not good?

The texte.

My lytle children (of whom I trauaile in birth againe, vntil Christ be fashioned in you) I would I wer with you now and could change my voyce, for I stande in a doubt of you.

Page xv

Would God ye could with your iyen se the secrete partes of my heart, there should ye clearely perceiue, with how great grieve I write this. O my litle children, once begotte I you to Christ, not without my great trauaile and paine, and now after your swaruyng from Christ labor I to beare you againe, vntyl that Christ in you be throughly fashioned.

I had sowed good seede, wherof it was me^{te} that perfite christians should haue growen, but by enchauntment (I wote not how) ye are tur|ned into Iewes, and chaunged into an other kynde. Christ is heauenly and spiritual, and will ye be carnal & yearthly? But this epistle expresseth not sufficiently the vehemencie of my minde. Would God I might be^{*} now presently among you, with liuely wordes to sette out that I after a sorte signifie by letters, the vehemencie of whom would partely with my countenance, partely with my teares, and partely with my voice be en|creased. To bring you againe to Christ, I would chaunge my selfe into all sortes, and sometymes speake faire, and sometimes require, and somet|mes chide. And accordyng to the varieties of your natures, & necessitie of the matter, would I better apply and temper my wordes. And would assaye euery medicine, vntyll the tyme I had brought all you to health. But now forasmuche as I see some of you fallen to Iewishenes, some o|ther in ieopardie of fallyng, and some (I trust) cōstant in my doctrine, my minde is in muche care and feare, vncertaine, with what kynde of letters to reamedie this great harme.

The texte.

Tell me (ye that desyre to be vnder the lawe) do ye not heare of the lawe? For it is written, that Abraham had two sonnes, the one by a bonde mayde, the other by a free moman. Yea, and he whiche was borne of the bonde woman was borne after the fleshe, but he whiche was of the free woman, was borne by promise.

But peculiarly to speake vnto suche of you, as are contented to fall backe to Iewishnes, I beseche you answere me: If Moses lawe so great|ly please you, why folowe ye not the authoritie of it, if ye distrust the gos|pel? Euen very Moses lawe selfe would suche as are receiued into the felowship of Christ, to be free from bondage of the lawe. Ye receiued the lawe, but ye

geue none eare to that it sayd, or if ye gaue eare vnto it, ye vnderstande it not, because ye cleaue to the litterall meanyng onely, and pearce not to the spiritual sence therof. For it is written in the booke of Genesis, that Abraham the beginner and father of all right beleuers had two sonnes, of whom the elder called Ismael he begatte of Agar the^{*} bonde maide, the yonger called Isaac, he had of his lawfull wife Sara. He that was borne of the handemaide, was borne as children are comenly wont to be, and was nothing but Abrahams sōne, euen as the Iewes be, be they neuer so farre from Christ. He that was borne of the free wife, contrarye to the comon course of nature was borne of a barrain mother, of an olde father, accordyng as God had promised: so that them, whom age and weakenes of body put in desperacion of hauyng an heyre, Gods promise put in perfite assuraūce to haue a child. The fyrst childe therfore was the childe of nature, the other was the childe of fayth.

Page [unnumbered]

The texte.

Whiche thinges are spoken by an alligorie. For these are two testamentes, the one from the mounte Sina, whiche gendereth vnto bondage, whiche is Agar, for mounte Sina is Agar in Arabia, and bordereth vpon the citie, whiche is now called Ierusalē, and is in bondage with her children. But Ierusalem whiche is aboue is free, whiche is the mother of vs all.

Nor is it to be supposed, that this tale hath, beside the trueth of the historie no secrete hidden misterie. For comenly suche is Moses law, that as in a māne vnder the grosse fleshe and coueryng of the body, is hidden the soule the ruler therof: so vnder the letter and historie, a more priuey thyng and higher mistery is couered. Let vs then serche foorth, what in the alligorie these two mothers and the two sonnes signifie. Surely the^{*} twoo mothers represent the twoo testamentes, of whom the one brought foorth a people subiecte to the bondage of the lawe, the other brought foorth a people through fayth free frō that burdain. For Sina is a moūtaine in Arabia, whiche in the Chaldees language hath the name of the bondmaiden Agar, and bordereth vpon the mountaine of Sion, wher|in standeth the cytie, that once was called Iebus, and is now called Ie|rusalem. Now are they, that inhabite the mountaine Agar, euen in these daies, bonde, in theyr state resemblyng the beginner of that nacion. But Ierusalem, whiche as inheritaunce fel to Isaacs posteritie, is free. This citie, forasmuche as it standeth in a high place, representeth hea|uen, into whose freedome we be called. That cytie is not onely mother to the Iewes, but to all vs, whiche beleue in Christ.

Moses lawe is yearthly, the lawe of the gospel, forasmuche as it came^{*} from heauen is heauenly. As the body is seruaunt to the soule: so that whiche is grosse, is bonde, and that whiche is spiritual, is free. Moses lawe brought foorth her childe fyrst, the lawe of the gospel, albeit it had issue after, yet how many more children brought it to God. Moses lawe brought foorth but one nacion, & the same of no great multitude neither, the lawe of the gospel containeth all nacions of the worlde.

The texte.

For it is written, reioyce thou barren, that bearest no children: breake foorth & cry, thou that trauailest not. For the desolate hath many more children, than she whiche hath an husband.

And lest some thinke, that this was but a chaunce, Esai long before sayd it should so be, who by the spirite of prophecie foreseeing the great noubre of Gentiles resortyng to the gospel of Christ, reioyseth by these wordes: Be glad thou barren, that bearest no children, breake foorth and crye thou that trauailest not, for many more children haste thou, whiche semedst desolate and barren, than hath she that hath a husband, and semed to put men in a meruailous hope of posteritie. In the lewes state before tyme fewe were there, that came through it vnto Gods fauor, but fayth in the gospel hath brought in many, and wil without ende bryng in more. Thus see ye the twoo mothers and theyr twoo children, the beginners of twoo nacions.

The texte.

Brethren we are after Isaac the children of promise. But as then he that was borne after the fleshe persecuted him that was borne after the spirite: Euen so is it now.

Suche as yet styfly cleaue to Moses lawe, belong to Ismael, whiche was borne of the handmayde. But we, whiche gyuyng ouer our cōfidence in the lawe, through perfite fayth hang only vpon Christ, are Isaacs children, who was borne of the free & lawful wyfe, not by the courte of nature, but by the promise of god. Nor are we receyued into y^r welthy state, taught by the gospell, because we were borne vnder the lawe, but because god lōg synce promised all them saluacion, that thorough fayth woulde come into the felowshyp of his sonne Iesus Christ. Yea and in this also the allegorie featly agreeth, that bothe posterities sauer of theyr beginners. For as thā, the elder sonne Ismael, carnall sonne vnto Abraham, persecuted the yonger called Isaac, who was borne by goddes promise▪

euē at the tyme, whē they playeo together, takyng more vpon hym, than was mere: so in this tyme, they that cleaue faste to the carnall lawe, hate suche as embrace the spiritual lawe of the gospel, labouryng to be more esteamed, chalengyng as theyrs, the ryght of the fyrste begotten, whiche is only dewe to Christe: labouryng also by the title of aunciencie to make the free mothers chyl|dren bonde as they be, to thentent, that being elder seruauntes, they maye ouer vs that are yonger, beare rule.

The texte.

Neuerthelesse, what sayeth the scripture▪ putte away the bonde woman and her sonne. For the sonne of the bond woman shal not be heyre with the sonne of the free wo|man: so then brethen we are not chyldren of the bond woman▪ but of the free woman▪

But the free mother alloweth no suche alteracion, nor wyl suffer these two borne after suche a diuerse sorte to be conuersaunt together: But, as y^{•*} scripture saythe, with great indignacion cryeth out: put away the bonde woman, and her sonne, for I wyl not suffer, that the bond womānes childe shal w^t my sonne Isaac be inheritour. The lewyshe Synagoge to muche hangeth by them, whiche beleue the gospell. The Lewes require to muche of christians, whose libertie they enuye at. Yt the bonde mother wyl not gladly depart, let her rather be thrust out, than w^t her slaushe companye, she corrupt my sonne. The inheritaunce of euerlastyng lyfe is promised to Isaac, and to hym is it dewe. Let Agar, yf she luste, carye furthe with her the water pottle of the vnsauery lawe, whome she so greatly loueth. But my sonne Isaac by drynkyng the effectuall lickor of the gospel, shal styll with good lucke growe vp, vntill he become a perfite man. Wherefore, suflfer (my brethren) that the Lewes, which to stubberly delyte in the seruile lawe, haue styl theyr owne bondage, nor growe oute of kynde from theyr mother. We which were sometime our selfe vnder the bondage of the law, and lyke vnto the chyldrē of the bond womā Agar, persecuted the verie na|turall chyldrē of y[•] churche, are nowe delyuered frō that olde bondage, and receyued into the title of Saraes chyldren.

And for this libertie thanke we Christ, into whome through fayth we are so planted, that we are become inheritors of the promised inheritaūce of heauen. So that into what libertie Christe hath by his death after our falling from him restored vs, that are Lewes, into the same are ye, that are Gentiles, called through preaching of the gospell.

The texte.

¶ Stande faste therfore in the libertie, wherwith Christe hath made vs free, and wrappe not youre selues agayne in the yoke of bondage.

Nowe remayneth there nothyng, but that ye stedfastlye continewe in that ye haue once gotten. For what madnes is it to forsake the liberall gyfte and freedome, wherein Christe of his especiall fauer hath sette you, and to become bonde? We, which of that paynfull bondage haue had experience, are glad and reioyse of oure libertie, and are ye of youre libertie in suche sorte weaty, that ye are content to become bonde?

The texte.

¶ Beholde I Paule saye vnto you, that yf ye be circumcised, Christe shall profite you nothing at all.

But this wyse peradventure ye deceyue your selfe saying, we renounce not Christ, but because we would be of euerlasting saluacion in more assurauce, we ioine Christe and the lawe together. But I tell you, that as Christe would haue this his whole benefite comen to all, so woulde he onelye be thanked for all, nor in this bounteous gyfte of his, wyl he haue any copartener. But because ye shall the better vnderstande, how great a ieopardy it is to turne backe to Iewishnes: beholde, I Paule the Apostell of the Gentiles, whome ye well knowe, yea and an apostle appoynted by Christe hymselfe tell you playnly, that yf ye be circumcised, Christe shall nothyng at all profite you. Yf ye perfitye beleue, that he is able to gyue all men healthe euerlastyng, why seeke ye for circumcision? If ye mistruste and feare, lest he be not able, then know ye not yet the benefite of Christe, wherof suche as mistrust, cannot be partakers: synce that gyfte is giuen to suche as beleue and truste, and not so muche for any deserte of oure workes. Either muste ye whollye become Iewes, & forsake Christ, or els christians wholly, and forsake Iewishnes. As for suche as playe with both handes, he cannot awaye with, nor wyl haue newe wyne poured into olde bottels, nor yet olde wyne into newe bottels. Nor can he beare with to haue newe clothe sowed or patched to an olde garmente, nor olde clothe to be patchedlye sowed into a newe.

If the bondage of Iewishenes were easye, it neded not peradventure to be passed vpon: yf the rewarde for it were great, then should the payne therof in some parte be thereby recompensed. But now, besydes that the burden is excedyng paynful, ye shal not only by takyng of it not haue auantage, but also great hurte.

The texte.

I testifie agayne to euery man, whiche is circumcised, that he is bounde to kepe the whole lawe. Christ is become but in vayne vnto you: as manye of you, as are iustified by the lawe, are fallen from grace.

Beware, leste with suche standyng in your owne conceytes ye deceyue your selues, saying we wyl not to the whole burden of the lawe be bound, somewhat wyl we take of the lawe, as for example circumcision onely, lest we seme vtterly to refuse it, as for sacrificyng of beastes, with suche other obseruaunces of the lawe, them wyll we not medle with. But because ye shall not be deceyued, I tell all men playnlye whosoeuer doth circumcise hym selfe, whether he be Iewe or Gentile, the same man maketh hymselfe bonde to the keepyng of the whole lawe. For as throughe baptisme menne wholly belong to Christe: so, whoso is circumcised, byndeth hymselfe to all the law, for circumcision is the marke, wherby he becommeth a Iew. The vncircumcised Gentiles stande in libertie to gather here and there out of the lawe, suche thinges as are nedefull, but the circumcised are bounde to the whole lawe. Whoso is content to receyue circumcision, muste lykewise therwith receyue sacrifices, keepyng of the Sabboth, feastes of the newe Moone, washynges, choyse of meates, standing fasting dayes, with suche other lyke. Now wylfully to submit youre selfe to so great a burden, is it not a playne poynt of madnes, speciallye for no other rewarde, but to be vnder a moste paynful and vnprofitable bondage, fallyng from Christ y[•] only gyuer of libertie and saluacion? For yf, as I nowe haue ofte tymes^{*} tolde you, ye looke to purchase perfite iustice by helpe of the law, which by a confidence in workes promiseth a certayne perfecciō, surely ye are gone and departed ferre from the felowshyp of Christe, who woulde haue his gyfte to be free, and not gyuen for desertes. And then, yf ye be once depar|ted from Christes felowshyp, the lawe wyll do you no good neither, but rather be your confusion. For yf there were of the lawe anye vse and profit before the lyght of the gospel (as there was) al that, by the gospel preached and taught is quite gone. Yf ye esteme the lawe, Christe is abolyshed. But if ye receiue Christ, then muste the lawe gyue place. When I speake of the lawe, I vnderstande the groce and carnall parte of Moses lawe, whome the Iewes stifly mayntayne by the corporal obseruaunces therof promy|sing themselues perfite righteousnes, thinkyng that the bloud of beastes sprinkled vpon them, pourgeth the soule from synne, and that washyng in water, scoureth out the filthines of soules, & that cleane or vncleane meat pourgeth or defileth the mynde.

The texte.

We looke for hope in the spirite to be iustified through faith. For in Iesu Christ, nei|ther is circumcision any thyng worthe, neither yet vncircūcision, but fayth which wor|keth by loue.

We contrariwyse embracyng the spirituall parte of the lawe, looke not for y[•] righteousnes promised by any supersticiouse obseruaunces of corpo|rall ceremonies, but by that we throughe the gospel beleue, that by Chri|stes death we freelye receyue innocencie of lyfe, and full saluacion.

Nothyng skylleth it, whether ye come to Christe, circumcised or vn|circumcised, synce all this mattier standeth, not in kepyng of the lawe,

Page [unnumbered]

but in fayth, whiche albeit be without the workes of Moses lawe, yet is she not idle, but secretly worketh a vehement onwardnes to all godlynes, not so muche because the lawe so byddeth, but for charities sake, whiche withoute bydding euen of her owne accorde dothe muche more than is a|ny law with manacing wordes or punishment able to get out. Yf ye haue charitie, what nede is there to haue the rules of the lawe? If ye lacke her, what auayleth you the kepyng of the lawe?

The texte.

Ye did runne wel: who was a let vnto you, that ye should not beleue the truthe? (cō|sente vnto noman.) Euen the counsel whiche came not of hym, that calleth you. A lytle leauen dothe leauen the whole louppe of dowe.

In the course of the gospels, ye dyd once runne apace, makyng hastye spede euen the very ryght waye towarde the chiefe game of euerlastyng blysse, who was he that stayed your course? why approue ye not continu|ally that thing wherewith ye were once well pleased? Why go ye frō your intended purpose, folowing other mennes myndes an other whye? Beware that no mannes authoritie weyghe so muche with you, y[•] it make you drawe backe from your course apoynted. It is a foule shame for you now to fall to shadowes, after that ye once gaue credēce to the truthe. I taught you nothing, but that was commaunded me by god. But they y[•] labour to persuade you the contrarie, lettyng therby the encrease of your fayth, and^{*} callyng you from youre profession, to a lewysshenes, folowe not god, as theyr authour, (who through faythe hath called you into his fauour, and not to a lewysshenes, through receyuing of circumcision) but folow world|ly desyres, seekyng for theyr gaynes, glorie, and maynteynaunce of theyr tyrannie. Diligently take hede, and

beware of theyr persuasions. They are but fewe, but onles ye auoyde the same fewes companie, it is to be fealred, leste they corrupte the whole multitude, and deface the puritie of your religion, euen as ye see, a lytle leauen sowreth the whole batche, wherwith it is myngled, castyng by lytle the sournes of it self, throughout the whole dowe, whiche before was swete. Be there neuer so smal a poynt of lewish|nes myngled with the gospel, the same lytle wyll corrupte in you the pure|nes therof.

The texte.

I haue truste towarde you in the Lorde, that ye shall be none otherwyse mynded. But he that troubleth you, shall beare his iudgement, whatsoeuer he be.

But forasmuche as ye haue hitherto staggered throughe the entice|ment of other, I despayre not, but that ye wyll hencefurth stedfastlye con|tinewe in youre olde godly purpose, standyng in this truste, muche vpon knowledge and triall of youre natures, but speciallye vpon the helpe of Christe, who wrought in you to begynne with a mery chere, and wyll lyke|wyse worke in you grace, manfully to continew. But whosoever he be, that hath with new learning troubled the quietnes and purenes of your faith, albeit he deceyue menne, yet shall he not escape goddes iudgement.

Page xviii

Hym at this tyme for certayne consideracions vtter I not, nor vse extre|mitie agaynste hym, but at goddes handes, to whome he is not vnknow|en, he is sure to be punyshed, who is without regarde of any mannes au|thoritie, whome he hath muche rather offended than me. Nor let this moue you, though some saye, that I abhorre not the kepyng of the law▪ whiche haue with the Iewes lyued lyke a Iewe, and caused Timothie to be circumcised. I dyd so by compulsion, and oftentimes resisting, gyuyng yet place at that tyme, wherin I sawe no greate ieopardie at hande in so doying, and contrarie, yf I had not done it, there had bene a great commo|cion. But nowe vpon diuersities of the tyme and circumstance, expedient it is to folowe another way. And to tell you briefly herein my mynde, it is not all one to suffer and permit circumcision, and to preache it. I suf|fered Timothie to be circumcised, but I neuer taught, that either he, or a|nye els should be circumcised.

So lykewyse when I oftetymes was conuersaunt among the Iew|es, I abstayned from meates forbydden by the lawe, but neuer enioyned I vnto anye man, that suche choyse in meates shoulde be had, but rather taught the contrarie, that it forced nothyng what kynde of meates a mā eate, so that he vse them soberly and with thanks geuyng to god. The tyme was,

when it was nedefull to beare with the sinistre rooted persuasilon of the Iewes, but nowe, synce the gospell is clearely knowen, and the Iewes stubbernely labour to drawe the Gentiles into theyr supersticion, it is neither wel done, nor ieopardiles to beare with it any lynger, but ralther besemeth it euery man, boldely to preache, that Moses lawe is expilred, and that all men ought to embrace the libertie of the gospell.

The texte.

Brethren yf I yet preache circumcision, why do I then suffer persecucion? Then is the sclaunder of the crosse ceased. I woulde to god, they were separated from you, whiche trouble you.

For yf this were trewe, that they reporte of me, that I preache, and set furth circumcision, what cause is there then whye vntyll this daye the Iewes so maliciously and hatefully persecute me? Thence is al my coun|treys mennes displeasure against me, because I in suche sorte preache Chri|stes gospell, that therewith I teache, that Moses lawe is gone and abo|lished. The Iewes thynke, that they among men should be more made of, yf the rites of Moses law might be myngled with Christes doctrine. But nowe great enuie haue they that all other people through fayth are recei|ued into goddes fauour, whyles they vpon them carie about them the vn|profitable marke of circumcision. And this is the cause, why they without al pitie haue long tyme gone about my destrucciō, because I euery where preache and promi|e all men perfite weale, without any helpe of circumci|sion. Yf it so were, that I preached circumcisiō, as some falsly report of me, why do the Iewes styll persecute me, synce the cause of al theyr displeasure* borne towarde me is vtterly taken awaye? Trust ye me ye people of Gallacia, my preachyng hath alwayes ben one, and so shall it hencefurth con|tinewe lyke.

[Page \[unnumbered\]](#)

On youre parte see lykewyse, that your fayth be, as myne is. For so farre am I from the mynde to agree with them, that teache circumcision, that yf theyr stubbernes wyll not suffer them to forsake theyr lawe, rather thā they should vtterly withdrawe you from the gospell, and with theyr per|suasions plucke you out of the ryght waye, I woulde wyshe them vtter|ly separate from the felowshyp of the gospell. Yf they be so frowardly gy|uen to circumcision, god graunt them not only to be circumcised, but also to be vtterly cutte of, that they maye more plenteously haue theyr desyer. Better is it, that they only perishe, than drawe so many other with them in to damnacion.

The texte.

Brethren ye were called into libertie: only let not your libertie be an occasion vnto the fleshe, but by loue (of the spirite) serue one an other▪ For all the lawe is fulfilled in one worde whiche is this: thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. Yf ye byte and deuoure one another: take hede, leste ye be lykewyse consumed one of another.

Synce they are so content, let them styll continewe on in theyr shame|full bondage. But ye my brethren throughe the gospell are called to liber|tie, and not to be bonde. So that nothyng elles nowe remayneth, but to take hede, that the libertie gyuen vnto you by the spirite of Christe be not applyed, to y^e occasion of fleashlye lustes. The bondage of the lawe is in suche sorte taken awaye, that in her steede is come charitie taughte by the gospell, whiche by fayre meanes obtayneth more than the lawe was able to do with compulsion. And yet for all that among frendes, of whome one is glad to do for an other, there is nor may stershyp nor bondage. The law byddeth noman to put his lyfe in ieopardye for defence of his frende, nor that a man shoulde by defraudyng nature ease his brothers nede, nor that thou whiche arte stronger, shouldest beare with the weaker, or the learned with the vnlearned, or the better with the worse, all whiche yet commaun|deth charitie, whiche so alwaye telleth, that thynges are to be done, not by force, but euen of good wyll▪ and voluntarily. Besyde this onlye charitie comprisyng in her the whole strength and effecte of the lawe briefly, bryn|geth that aboute, that the lawe with so many rules and threatnynges is not able to do.

For all that the brablyng law with so many rules laboreth to bryng^{*} to passe, all that is in a shorte sentence concluded, written in Liuiticum, whiche is this, thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. Wherefore yf ye with charitie be knytte together, ye shall one by an others diligent la|bour helpe an other, and with mutuall seruice labour to comforte other. But contrarye, yf ye, as carnal men are wont, do disagree eche one hating an other, and not onlye helpe not eche one another, but also backbite and gnawe one another, and not onlye backbyte and gnawe, but lyke outragi|louse wylde beastes, asmuche as in you is. deuoure other, great cause sure|lye haue ye to feare, leste ye lyke beastes tearyng one another be with ey|thers woundes destroyed.

To this inconuenience fall they, whiche beyng withoute the charitie taught by the gospell stycke styll to the carnall law, whyles they measure

al thynges by theyr priuate commodities, wheras contrary christian

cha|ritie is in a readynes to do other men good.

The texte.

I say▪ walke in the spirite, and fulfill not the lustes of the fleshe. For the fleshe lu|steth contrary to the spirite, and the spirite contrarye to the fleshe, these are contrarye one to an other, so that ye cannot do, whatsoeuer ye would. But and if ye be led of the spirite, then are ye not vnder the lawe.

The whole effecte of my woordes drawe to this ende, that forsomuche as ye are deliuered from the bondage of Moses carnal lawe, ye should leade your life accordyng to the spiritual lawe of charitie, as ye shall in dede do, if ye neither esteme perfite righteousnes to stande in lewishe ceremonies, nor liue vnder carnal desires. If ye liue vnder carnal lustes ye shal alway be vnder the lawe. Endeuous ye therfore to leade a spiri|tual life, & if ye thus do, then shal ye abstaine frō suche actes, as the fleshe * shal prouoke you vnto. For as▪ in one manne there is a grosse and heauy body, and a soule that is heauenly and immortal, and as in one law there is a grosse parte, whom we call the letter, and again a heauenly thyng, whiche is called the spirite: so in one mannes soule one power there is, whiche styl calleth to goodnes, and an other to this power contrary, like vnto the body & the letter of the law, whiche prouoketh vs to dishonestie. Betwene these partes there is a cōtinual battaile, whiles the fleshe figh|teth against the spirite, and the spirite against the fleshe. Well may the fleshe be restrained frō her desyres, but yet wyll it not be so oppressed, but that it wyl labor and striue against the spirite. And if the fleshe happen to haue the vpper hand, it is sometyme seen, that where a man hath a desyre to godlines, yet beyng ouercomen by the fleshe, he doth suche thinges, as he knoweth should be auoyded. And if the spirite of Christ sufficiently moue you to do willyngly suche thynges, as are good & godly, then hath Moses lawe vpon you none authoritie.

The texte.

The dedes of the fleshe are manyfest, whiche are these, adultrie, fornicacion, vnclen|nes, wantonnes, worshipping of idolles, witchecraft, hatred, variaunce, zeale, wrath, strife, sedicion, sectes, enuiyng, murder, drōkennes, glotonie, and suche like: of the whilche I tel you before, as I haue tolde you in tyme past, that they whiche committe suche thinges, shal not be inheritors of the kyngdome of God.

But because ye shal not be ignorant, the spirite wherof we now speake, is a thyng that cannot be seen, the fleshe may be seen. And yet is it not * hard to coniecture, whether a man be seruauant to the fleshe, or be ledde by the spirite of God. For as the welsprynges be, suche are the waters and other that flowe from thence. A mannes life, maners, & doynges plainly

shewe what a man is within. But because we wyl not at this tyme speake of doubtful or hidden matters, these be they, that make plaine profe, that a man is styl seruaunt to the fleshe, notwithstanding he be baptised, and haue shaken of the bondage of the lawe, aduoutry (I say) fornicacion, vn|clennes, wātonnes, idolatry, witchecraft, hatred, variance, zeale, wrath, strise, sedicion, sectes, enuy, murder, dronkennes, glotony. To these who|soeuer be bonde, albeit the same man be baptised, yet is he not throughly▪

Page [unnumbered]

free, but bondslaue to naughtie desyres. Nor be ouer bolde, because ye are baptised, or for your workyng of myracles. What tyme I was almong you, I warned you, and now by my letter I earnestly warne you a|gaine, that al they whiche do suche thinges, shalbe excluded from the en|heritaunce of the kyngdome of heauen.

The texte.

Contrarily, the fruite of the spirite is loue, ioy, peace, long sufferyng, gentlenes, goodnes, faythfulnes, mekenes, temperancie. Against suche there is no lawe. They truely, that are Christes, haue crucified the fleshe with the affeccions and lustes.

On the othersyde, suche as are perfite free, and ruled by the spirite of God are knowen by these fruites. For with this spirite are ioyned cha|ritie, ioy, peace, long sufferyng, gentlenes, goodnes, faythfulnes, meke|nes, temperancie. They that of theyr owne good wyll do these, haue no nede to be pricked foorth with compulsories of the lawe, for them theyr owne innocencie maketh free from it. Besyde this, they that truely are Christes, as it besemeth spiritual people, haue crucified the fleshe with all the vices and desires therof. For by baptisme we dye with Christ, and are buried also with him.

The texte.

If we li•e in the spirite, let vs walke in the spirite. Let vs not be desirous of vayne glory, prouokyng one an other, enuiyng one at an other.

We may not stande doubtfully betwene the fleshe and the spirite, whe|ther of both we should folowe. If the spirite geue life to the body, reason it is that the body be vnder the gouernaunce of the spirite. If we haue receiued life through the spirite of Christ, and not by the law, let vs liue accordyng vnto the inclinacion of the same spirite. If we haue truely

ta|sted of the spirit of Christ, let vs bryng foorth the fruites of it, and
ab|staine from al carnal workes. Let vs not be desyrous of vainglory, for
the same prouokynge eche one an other of vs to debate and strife, enuiyng
one an other of vs. For euen them, that pro|fesse the rule of godly life,
these vices oftetyms trouble, whiche, yet are in very dede the pe|stilence
and destruccion of true godlynes.

The vi. Chapter.

The texte.

Brethren, if a man also be taken in any fault, ye whiche are spiritual, healpe
to a|mende him, in the spirite of mekenes: consideryng thy selfe, lest thou
also be tempted.

Hitherto haue I shewed you (brethren) to what ende all they, that
haue taken Christes religion vpon them, must enforce thē selves. Yet
because baptisme taketh not from vs, but that we are men styl, if any
among you by reason of weakenes fal into any of|fence, your part is,
which are strōger, & by the spirit of God haue not geuē place to fleshly
desyres, with gentle and meke wordes to restore him againe,
en|couragyng him vp, that he may rise againe, not w^t rough speache
causing him to despayre. Hipocrites vse suche proud lokes and high
wordes, but Christes spirite, forasmuche as it desyreth al mens saluacion,
with meke and gentle meanes calleth men to amendement. And oftetyms
it chaunceth, that whō a sharpe earnestnes withdraweth vtterly, them
gentle and brotherly correccion maketh humble and boweth. Moses law
after suche sorte suppresseth synne, that it destroyeth the sinner, but
christiā charitie so remedyeth vice, that she yet saueth y[•] mā. The better
thou arte, by so muche the more gently condescende thou to thy
brothers weakenes. If Christes owne example moue the not suffici|ently
so to do, who most mercifully suffered his children, vntil tyme they^{*}
amended, at lestwyse yet lette this encourage you, because ye knowe, that
the like may chaunce vnto your selves.

The texte.

Beare ye one an others burdaine, and so fulfil the lawe of Christ. For if any
man seme to him selfe, that he is somewhat, when in dede he is nothing, the
same deceiueth his owne minde.

This man is fallen, remember that thou art a fraile man also.. Let his fall be vnto the a lesson, neither to be bolde vpon thy selfe, nor yet to trust to muche in thine owne strength. Vse thy selfe towarde him that is fallen, as thou wouldest be glad to be vsed, if the like chaūced to the. And a mischaunce may befall any worldly man. Suche as at the mocion of cer|taine false Apostles haue staggered, must not with cruelnes be banished out of your company, but charitably be called againe to theyr olde sted|fastnes. The tyme may come, that they beyng made strong may againe beare with your weakenes. He that hath vpō him a heauy burdain, must be eased, and not throwen doune. Wherefore if eche of you beare others burdaines, then shal ye in euery point fulfill the lawe of charitie, whiche^{*} lawe is Christes owne lawe. Christ wheras he neither was vnder synne, nor nigh the ieopardye therof, yet bare he vpon him our wickednes, and of his great mercy healed vs, & condemned vs not, as one without pitie. Let no man thinke him selfe to be righteous, and vpon confidence therin despise his brother, that is with some kynde of synne entangled.

Page [unnumbered]

For a man to seame iust to him selfe, is a profe of a fained righteousness. Wherefore if any man thinke him selfe somethyng, when he in dede is no|thyng, he deceiueh him selfe.

The texte.

Let euery man proue his owne worke, and then shal he haue reioysyng, onely in his owne selfe, and not in an other. For euery man shal beare his owne burdaine.

For neither is any man therfore righteous, because he auaunceth him selfe before the sinner, nor is therfore one man defiled with other mennes synne, if he submitte him selfe to restore him againe. Nor is he therfore good, because he cōpareth him selfe to a worse. Euery man shalbe iudged by his owne dedes. Yet must noman in his owne dedes haue a confidēce, but euery manne must serche with him selfe, whether that, wherein he bealreth him selfe in hand to do well, be suche, as of God shuld be allowed. If thine owne conscience condemne the not, yet glory not, because other a•e weake, but glory of thyne owne strength, & glory inwardly, geuyng God thākes for his giftes bestowed vpon the, nor bost it among other, ne dis|pise them, that are not so strong as thou art. Helpe him, if thou be able, if thou be not able, let God his iudge alone with him. Neither shal his synne diminishe thy rewarde, nor thou for an other mannes offence be punished, but before God euery man shal beare his owne burdaine.

The texte.

Let him that is taught in the worde, minister vnto him that teacheth him in all good thinges. Be not deceiued, God is not mocked. For what soeuer a man soweth that shal he also reape. For he that soweth in his fleshe, shal of the fleshe reape corrupcion: but he that soweth in the spirite, shal of the spirite reape life euerlastyng.

But as long as we be in this worlde, we are bounde eche one to helpe an other. And as it belongeth to them, whose giftes are aboue others, with teachyng, comforyng & exhortacion to helpe their brothers weake|nes, so let suche, as be holpen, remembre, that they be not vnthankful to suche as haue done for them. And so among you shal al good thinges be comen, if they, that can preache the gospel, teache, comfort, & beare vppe^{*} the rude, and they againe that are taught, of theyr substaunce geue theyr teachers and counsailours necessities, so that one do for an other. Let them that teache, take heede that theyr doctrine be christian, and sauor of the spirite of Christ, or els better wer it for a mā not to beleue his teacher at all. Besyde that, he that for corrupte teachyng the gospel receiueth mede of him, whō he so teacheth, the man he deceiueth, yea, and him selfe to, but God can not of him be deceiued. Wherefore my counsail is, that ye teache sincerely the gospel, for God is not mocked with. But suche seede as euery mā soweth, suche shal he mowe. Whoso teacheth carnal doctrin, for his sede he shal reape fruit which is corruptible. But he that teacheth spiritual doctrin, shal for his spiritual and heauenly counsail receiue like rewarde, whiche is life euerlastyng.

The texte.

Let vs not be weary of well doying. For when the tyme is come, we shall repe with|out wearynes. Whyle we haue therfore tyme: let vs do good vnto all men, and especially vnto them, whiche are of the housholde of fayth,

Therefore let vs alwaye endeuoure to do for all men, nor cease at any tyme to do good dedes, whether we haue gentle scholers, or vngentle, whether we haue a rewarde of men, or not. For when the tyme shall come, we shall gather fruite, whiche shall neuer dye, and receyue for our temporall labours, wages euerlastyng. Sowying time shall not alwaye continew, the^{*} tyme shall come, when we shal neither with our owne dedes be holpen, nor with other mennes. For the tyme of this present lyfe we maye with good workes wyll goddes fauour, and helpe other, but at the daye of iudgemēt, neither shall oure good workes haue place, nor we be able to do for anye other. Therefore let vs take the tyme, whyle it serueth,

endeuouryng to do, bothe for all men, and specially for them, that are of the same religion and fayth, that we be of. The Iewe fauoureth none, but Iewes, but the christilan folowyng the example of Christe is desyrouse to do good for all men.

The texte.

¶Ye se, howe large a letter I haue wrytten vnto you with myne owne hand. As many as desyre with outwarde apparence to please carnally: the same constrainye you to be circumcised, only leste they shoulde suffer persecucion for the crosse of Christ. For they themselues, whiche are circumcised, kepe not the lawe, but desyre to haue you circumcised, that they might reioyse in your fleshe.

Ye se (ye people of Galacia,) how I am in this matier delited, which with myne owne hand wrote vnto you •o long an epistle. Ye knowe my hande wryting. No cause haue ye to thinke, that it is a counterfaite letter, it is all myne, and a declaracion of my good wyl towarde you. And looke, that it w^t you be of more weight, than anye false apostles doctrine. Suche as endeuoure rather to please men, than god, suche (I saye) moue you to be circumcised, to thintent they maye bryng you in hatred of the Gentiles for Christes sake, and in displeasure with the Iewes for lacke of circumcisi^on. Iewes are they, that so teache, and feare the displeasure of theyr cou^ltreymen, yf they shoulde without circumcision preache Christe, as menne abolyshyng the lawe. Suche rather stande in feare of men, than of God, and seeke for prayse at mēes handes, rather than at goddes. Suche feare leste the sincere profession of the crosse of Christe mighte stiere vp other, y[•] hate Christes name, to persecute them, and feare also, leste they shoulde be coumpted for vnlearned, yf they shoulde nothyng elles teache, but this simple lesson: that Christ was crucified. Nor do they this for a very zeale borne to the lawe of theyr countrey, as I once erroneouslye dyd, persecutyng the flocke of Christ, forasmuche as no not the Iewes self kepe y[•] law, notwithstanding they be of theyr forefathers circumcised, but abuse your rudenes, charyng you with circumcision to the ende, that they among theyr companions maye vaunte themselfe, that through theyr preachyng and teachyng ye are fallen to lewyshnes. This policie vse they to pacifie the enuie of theyr countrey men, whiche coulde not abyde, that throughe the gospell of Christe the lawe should be abrogate. As for I neither so feare the hatred of the Iewes, nor persecucion of the Gentiles, y[•] I should with lesse •inceritie preache Christes gospell.

The texte.

God forbid, that I shoulde reioyse, but in the crosse of our Lord Iesu Christ, Wher|by the world is crucified vnto me, and I vnto the worlde. For in Christ

Iesu neither cir|cumcision auayleth any thyng at all, nor vncircumcision, but a newe creature.

Page [unnumbered]

God forbid, that I shoulde in anye thyng els reioyce, but in the crosse of my lorde Iesu Christe. The Gentiles, (I knowe) coumpte his crosse for a vilanie and reproche, the Iewes hate and enuie it, yet therin onely put I all my glorie, whiche nothyng regarde worldly prayse, as one, to whome through baptisme beyng graffed into the bodie of Christe the worlde is^{*} deade, and contrary wyse I to the worlde, nor am I with aduersities ther|of a fearde, nor with prosperities delited, nor passe vpon the displeasure, nor couet the commendacion, without all feare of worldly reproche, and without desyre of vaynglory. Christe onely is for me sufficient both for al, and agaynst all. To whose profession, whether a man come, circumcised out of the stocke of the Iewes, or not circumcised out of the stocke of the Gentiles, it forceth not. Into whose bodye, whoso through fayth is trans|fourmed, is sodaynely in suche sorte chaunged, that he is become a newe creature, and called regenerate. A button therfore for all worldely diffe|rences. Whoso professeth Christe, let him nothyng els remember, but that he is a christian man.

The texte.

And as manye as walke acordyng to this rule, peace be on them, and mercye, and v|pon Israel, that pertayneth to God. From hencefurthe let no man put me to busynes. For I beare in my body the markes of the lorde Iesu. Brethren the grace of oure lorde Iesu Christ be with your spirite. Amen.

Let this be a sure rule, whiche rule, whosoeuer folowe, to them wyshe I peace and mercye, •or meete it is to wyshe them the same thing, whiche Dauid wished to the Israelytes in the Psalmes, where he saythe: peace be vpon Israel. But there be of Isralites two sortes, one, whiche is so alcoumpted before men, and an other before god. For he is not streyght a vecie Israelite, whiche is but circumcised, but he, whose mynde is circum|cised, and he that through fayth is strong to godwarde. To suche Israe|lites then, of whiche noumber ye also be, wyshe I peace and mercie. Away with false Israelites, suche as stubbornly and maliciously stryue agaynst the gospell of Christe, they shall neuer from this doctryne moue me, but, what I haue preached, that wyll I euer preache. And therfore in this ma|tier^{*} let no mā here after trouble me. So far am I from to be moued from the truthe of the gospell with any vilanye or affliction, that whether soc|uer I go, I carie about in my bodye all the spite, that I haue for Christe sustayned, as emprisonmentes, scourgynges, chaynes, stonynges, with o|ther aduersities suffered for Christes name, as tokens

and markes of my Lorde Iesus Christe, blasyng them out, as certayne sygnes of my victo|ries, coumptyng this for my glorie, that I, as farre as maye be, deserue to folow the crosse of Christ, whome I preache. The grace and good wyll of our Lorde Iesus Christ (brethren) be euer with your spirite, y^e through his ayde ye maye continewe in the truthe of the gospell: whiche desyer of myne, that it maye take effecte, he graunte, by whose spirite I wrote these.

Finis,